BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL CULTURES OF SOUTH AND S. E. ASIA MADRAS

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1983 JANUARY
To
1985 DECEMBER

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UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
Madras-600 005, INDIA.

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INSTITUTE OF TRADITIONAL CULTURES OF SOUTH AND S. E. ASIA

MADRAS-5

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PREFACE

This Bulletin contains scholarly articles and seminar reports on the Traditional culture of India in general and Tamil Nadu in particular. Some of them like "Tamil Contacts from India in Ancient America" by Dr. G. Srinivasan and "A comparative study of cultures of Dravidian and Africans" by Dr. K. P. Aravanan, have made an in-depth comparative study of Ancient Indian and Tamil Culture with the ancient cultures of other countries of the world. Articles like "Indian synthesis and Racial and Cultural Inter-mixture in India" by Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Folk Songs and Folk Tales and Cultures of Common man by Dr. E. Sundaramoorthy and Thiru N. Ramakrishna Nair have delved deep into our ancient culture and brought out the unity underlying the variety of cultures extant in the Indian subcontinent.

The Institute is grateful to all the scholars who have contributed articles, delivered lectures and led seminars on a variety of themes pertaining to traditional cultures which appear in this issue.

We are grateful to the Government of Tamil Nadu as well as the Government of India for their financial assistance to the Institute.

The University of Madras continues to accommodate the Institute in its building, providing it with necessary amenities and bears the entire cost of the paper and printing of the Bulletin. The Institute is grateful to the University for all the valuable help, which enables it to carry on its activities.

We are thankful to our beloved President, Dr. A. Gnanam, Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras for the great interest evinced by him in the affairs of the Institute.

The Governing Body and the Executive Committee of the Institute have also given us valuable guidance for running the Institute and they deserve our sincere thanks.

We regret the delay in the publication of our Bulletin regularly every year. It is due to various unforeseen circumstances and administrative reasons. However, we propose to maintain the continuity and regularity in the issue of our Bulletin from 1989 onwards.

Madras,
30—9—1988.

Dr. K. R. HANUMANTHAN
Director

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The authors of the articles and other contributions that appear in the Bulletin are responsible for the statement of facts or expression of opinions contained therein. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute.

HUMAN ECOLOGY THROUGH RAJA-YOGA
(ANCIENT INSIGHTS FOR GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT)

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ABSTRACT

Two factors are chiefly responsible for the stress and strain in the world today; these are: (a) the explosive development of science and technology, related exclusively to the external environment, without any consideration for the internal spiritual environment in the humid west, and (b) application of imitative imported technology, unrelated to the necessities and compulsions of the natural environment of the developing countries in the tropics.

These problems can be rapidly and successfully tackled through the universal laws of human/spiritual ecology, developed through *Raja-yoga* (Sovereign Science), as expounded in the ancient scientific Sanskrit texts, for all-round progress and prosperity in the East and West.

I. INDIAN SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, AND LOGIC

I. 1 INTRODUCTION

The four-fold purpose of human existence is to lead a righteous life (*Dharma*), aquiring wealth (*Artha*), fulfilling desires [*Kama*], and finally to attain salvation or God-realisation [*Moksha*]. For this purpose one of the modes of approach, prescribed in ancient India, is *Raja-yoga* or Sovereign Science consisting of the universal laws of human/spiritual ecology and environment for both materialistic and spiritual progress. It embodies the knowledge pertaining to sentient and insentient, phenomenon and

noumenon, unifying science as *fructifera* [fruit] and science as *lucifera* [light].

I. 2 TOTAL ENVIRONMENT

Environment is chiefly classified into two types, viz., the gross external [macro-cosm] and the subtle internal [microcosm]. Five primordial elements, called *Punchamaha-bhutas*, viz. [1] the Earth (*Prith* or mineral matter), [2] the Water [*ap*], [3] The Fire [*Agni* or geothermal energy]; [4] The Air [*Vayu* or gases], and [5] the Sky [*Akas* or extra-terrestrial radiations] constitute the external environment. The three factors of the internal environment are: [1] the Mind [*Manas*]; [2] Intellect [*Budhi*], and [3] Egoism [*Ahamkara*] or I-consciousness. All these eight factors together constitute the total environment [*Bhagavad Gita*, 7:4]. In this, the body of the biosphere [*Jeeva Prakriti*] is formed from the abiotic or physical environment [*Jada Prakriti*] consisting of the hydrosphere, lithosphere, and atmosphere; and the life element [*Prana*] upholds the higher *Prakriti* constituting the entire world [*Bhagavat Gita*, 7:5].

According to the most ancient Sankhya system of philosophy truths are obtained from both the environments. The truths of the external environment are the Positive Sciences, derived through Immediate knowledge, while those of the internal experience are psychology, meta-physics, and religion developed by Mediate or Inferential knowledge as Normative Sciences. The external truth must bear testimony to the internal truth which in turn must have its verification in the out-side world.

I. 3 METHODOLOGY OF HUMAN ECOLOGY

The ancient scientific Sanskrit texts, such as *Jyotissastra* [astronomy/astrology] and *Ayurveda* [Science of Longevity], deal with human/spiritual ecology developed through *Raja-yoga*. The ancient Indian rishis, with regulated perception, have recognised the ecological significance of the natural *instincts* and adaptations of plants and animals which successfully with-stand various environmental stresses and flourish in a welfare state; and, with sound rationale and *reasoning*, the fundamental laws of applied ecology have been formulated for exploration and exploitation of the environmental resources; and with the faculty of *intuition*, perfected the universal laws of external nature harmoniously inte-

grated with the sacred and supersensuous laws of the internal spiritual nature through symbolism and superimposition.

In this sequence, God as the Supreme Ruler of the Universe has been logically proved to be the ultimate cause of all the processes and phenomena, manifesting as effects or responses, in the three different states, viz., the subconscious, conscious, and superconscious states, revealed through the *instincts* and adaptations of plants and animals, *reasoning* of the human beings, and *intuition* of the perfect masters or enligntened souls. This sort of scientific approach, called *Avastha-traya-Prakriya*, i.e., the methodology of three states, prescribed to grasp the divine law of unity in diversity, is based on the invariable concommittance of cause and effect, involved in *Raja-yoga*.

Modern ecology also realised that there is a series of arresting similarities of co-ordination and behaviour in various kinds of animal societies with the underlying impulses and reflexes in human societies [Bonner, 1955]; and hence came the realisation that the human aspects of the environment are derived from the same knowledge that is generated by those who analyse biological and physical environments [Jain et al, 1977, p. 57]. The editor's foreword to Kovalevskii [1978] pointed out that "intuition gives the closest approach to reality".

I. 4 INDIAN LOGIC

(*a*) *Sutras*

The ancient Indian works are in Sanskrit *slokas* [verses], expressed in the form of *sutras* [aphorisms] which embody a maximum thought of universal character condensed, without ambiguity, into a few essential words to serve as memory aids for subsequent discussion. The Latin logicians of the 13th century also made such an attempt and invented mnemonic verses for the purpose of rendering it easy to remember.

(*b*) *Sruti-smriti Concept*

The Indian tradition of philosophy has two distinctly different aspects consisting of: [a] *Sruti*, representing *Sanathana dharma*, which is eternal and universal, and [b] *Smriti*, representing *Yuga dharma*, which is local, parochial, and temporary in application, providing the necessary flexibility to discard the obsolete methods

and to adopt those which are relevant and responsive to the social change.

Same is the case with the Indian tradition of science and technology which, unlike in the West, is harmoniously integrated with philosophy and spirituality. Thus it consists of: [a] *Sruti*, representing the fundamental scientific laws and principles; and [b] *Smriti*, representing the variable scientific practice and instrumental methods to be adopted in the context of technological developments and discoveries.

(c) Logic in Jyotissastra

In order to examine the logic adopted in *Jyotissastra*, Chapter 54, entiled *Dakargalam*, with 125 *slokas*, dealing with Tropical Ground Water Hydrology in *Brihat Samhita* [Kern, 1880-84], is taken as a representative case. Modern scientific aspects of this subject has been discussed in several earlier works [Prasad, 1980 a, b, c, 1986 a, b, c,]

In the ancient Indian approach, first scientific knowledge, *Vastu-tantra-jnana*, i. e. knowledge of existing fact or discovery of fact, is developed by Inductive Inference as pure science; and derived from this, by Deductive Inference, *Purusha-tantra-Jnana* i. e. the knowledge depending on *pursha* or person and his interest, is developed as applied science according to the principles of *anumana* in *Nyaya Darsanam*, the unique Indian system of logic. The word *anumana* literally means 'after knowledge' implying applied science, evolved through the medium of a mark, sign, or indicator characteristic. Such a mark is the 'accidental characteristic' [*Thatasta lakshnam*] perceptible as effects or responses in the external environment to determine the innate definition [*Svarupa lakshnam*] of the unseen internal factor constituting the true cause.

(d) Parartha Anumana in Ground Water Ecosystem:

According to Nyaya system, the logic in tropical ground water science may be classified as *Paratha Anumana* which is stated in the form of five *avayavas* [organs] consisting of: [1] *Pratigna* which is the proposition asserted; [2] *Hetu* which is the proposition stating the reason for the assertion; [3] *Udaharana*, the universal proposition connecting the reason and the fact asserted with illustration; [4] *Upanaya*, the application of the universal proposition, and [5] *Nigaman*, i. e., conclusion.

Thus Varahamihira at the outset [slokas 1 & 2] makes the *Pratigna* or the proposition of assertion that ground water, as a constituent part of the hydrological cycle, occurring below the earth, like veins in human body, is involved in movements and modifications depending upon the environment; and states in slokas 3-5 the Hetu or reason that these variations are due to *Ashta-dik-palakas* or Rulers of Eight Directions together with the Vertical. The introductory slokas 1 & 2 also include *Upanaya* that this hydrogeological knowledge helps mankind to locate and utilise ground water resoures leading to fame and religious merit in the tropics.

As *Udaharana*, for the proposed assertion, he gives a series of sutras dealing with various ecological and environmental indicators to locate ground water in arid and seminarid regions devoid of surface water sources. These indicators include various species of plants and animals, soils and rocks, including the geophysical [thermal, rigidity, and seismic] properties - all responding to high relative humidity consequential to ground water occurrence. In all the sutras, the emphasis is placed on the orientation trends of the bioindicators and ground water: Further Varahamihira provides the effective methods of ground water exploitation maintaining perfect and harmonious ecologic balance.

(c) *Ashta-dik-palakas*

Varahamihira at the outset stated the higher law that the hydrological cycle, involving the occurence, movement and, modification of water are all primarily controlled by the orientation trends of nine directions consisting of the eight cardinal directions [north, northeast, east and so on] together with the vertical. The eight cardinal directions are controlled by the *Ashta-dik-palakas* [Prasad, 1980 a]. Based on this higher law, adopting the Inverse Deductive method different overground ecological and environmental effects of ground water of different depths, quality, quantity, and directions of flow, have been clearly enunciated emphasising influence of the orientation trends in the environment. Thus the logic behind the ground water science in *Jyotissastra* is a combined or complex method of induction and deduction or concrete deductive method' falling under the category of a 'Regressive' or 'Prosyllogistic' or Analytic

train of syllogistic reasoning. From this, by the Abstract Deductive method [or Geometric method], different philosophic and spiritual aspects may also be logically deduced.

The *Ashta-dik-palakas* consit of: [1] the east represented by Indra [god of Firmament, i. e. the extra-terrestrial radiations from the sky], [2] southeast by Agni [god of Fire; i. e. geothermal energy] [3] south by Yama [god of Death], [4] southwest by Nirriti [god of Disease], [5] west by Varuna [god of Rain], [6] north-west by Vayu [god of Wind[, [7] north by Kubera [god of wealth, i. e. ocean] and [8] northeast by Siva [god of weathering and destruction. Hopkins [1915] discussed the mythological aspects of these gods as the world-rulers of eight directions. These gods actually are the symbolie representations of different natural processes and phenomena, as anthropomorphic forms, controlling the geologic and biologic worlds.

Modern ecology [Clarke, 1954, p. 211] also pointed out that the orientation responses of plants and animals are rigidly controlled by the interacting influences of such factors as light, gravity, temperature and moisture. Geological, geophysical, and remote sensing techniques have revealed the most striking orientation trends of the structural features of the earth's crust, including the surface and subsurface water courses. These are developed by the *Ashta-dic-palakas* which are also responsible for the orientation trends in plants and animals acting directly or indirectly on their changing physiological states. Thus these *Ashta-dik-palakas*, as rulers of eight cardinal directions, control the orientation trends of the external and internal environments of both the geologic and biologic words.

(f) Polysyllogism of Sutras

Each sutra, according to western logic is a type of syllogism which is a form of mediate deductive inference in which the conclusion is drawn from two premises taken jointly. Such a syllogistic form of *anumana* consists of three terms, viz., *Paksha*, [2] *Sadhya*, and [3] *Linga* (also called *Hetu* or *Sadhana*).

For example, *Brihat Samhita* (54:81) states that knoty *Sami* (*Prosopis speciger*) indicates ground water occuring at a depth of 375 feet. Knots on the trunks and branches are the externally visible, morphophysiological feature of adaptation, formed by

high relative humidity consequential to ground water occurrence in dry tracts. In this sutra, *Paksha* is the subject concerned in the inference, i.e., ground water; *Sadhya* is the object i.e., Sami, related to *Paksha*; and *Linga* is the mark or indicator characteristic, i.e., knot, which is the basis for relating *Sadhya* to *Paksha*.

Thus in each *sutra*, with reference to each bioindicator, the distance, direction, and depth of occurrence of ground water, together with its quality, quantity, and direction of flow, have been described. Each *sutra* (media axiomata) is an axiomatic aphorism consisting of a real, universal, and self-evident proposition resolvable into some more natural laws of practical importance. All these sutras dealing with several ecological and environmental effects have been arranged in a series with progressively increasing depth of ground water, ranging from 7 1/2 ft to as much as 560 ft, in arid and semi-arid regions.

'Polysyllogism' or a train of syllogistic reasoning is a combination of two or more syllogisms which are so connected with one another that they ultimately lead to a single conclusion. Thus the series of *sutras* of the ground water ecosystem constitute polysyllogism finally leading to the conclusion that the unseen underground water, as a divine form, conforms to the highest natural law of unity in diversity.

(*g*) *Logic of scientific explanation of Ground water*

According to the western logician, Mill, there are three distinct ways in which the scientific explanation of natural laws may take place. These are: [i] Analysis which resolves the law of a joint effect into laws of its causes and the concurrence of those causes; [ii] 'Concatenation' which consists of the discovery of the steps of causation between cause and remote effects; and [iii] 'Subsumption' in which a less general law is brought under a law more general.

All these three forms of logic are involved in the scientific explanation of the ground water ecosystem in Varahamihira's *Brihat Samhita*. It consists of: (i) the analysis of the ground water law as the result of the joint effect caused by the concurrence of hydrologic cycle and the interacting influences of the nine orientation forces and phenomena. [ii] It involves 'Concatenation' as the ecological and environmental indicators are

the remote effects of the hydrological cycle operating under the solar and lunar influences, with ground water as the immediate intermediate cause; [iii] Various ecological and environmental effects, as indi-cators of ground water, lead to the primary or ultimate law of unity in diversity in nature (Subsumption).

Modern science (Health, 1982) also attempted a study of ground water system as in U.S.A. Its comparison with the ground water ecosystem in *Brihat Samhita* reveals the qualitative differences in approach between the modern science and ancient Indian science.

(*h*) *Logic in Brihat Samhita*

Brihat Samhita with 100 chapters deals with different ecosystems from microlevel in the terrestrial region to the highest macrolevel of the entire solar system of the universe; and each chapter, as ground water in *dakargalam,* consists of ecological and environmental effects for which the Sun god as procreator is the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. Each chapter in *Brihat Samhita* is in the form of 'Sorties' which is an abridged train of syllogistic reasoning in which the ultimate conclusion is omited for self-realisation.

II. ANCIENT INSIGHTS AND MODERN DEVELOPMENTS

II. I SPIRITUAL IMPORT IN MODERN ECOLOGY

Though modern ecology deals. exclusively with the external environment some of the observations reflect significant spiritual aspects. Dansereau [1957] formulated certain laws of plant ecology; two of them have spiritual import. These are: [a] the Law of Factorial Control which states that although living beings react holistically to all the factors in the environment, there occurs a vital factor which has the controlling power; and [b] the Law of Climax which states that "the processes of succession are not indefinite, for they tend to an equilibrium which is attained through a relay of controls". This equilibrium is what the Hind philosophy designates as the highest state of *Sattva,* attained through the control of the forces of attraction [*Tamas*] and repulsion [*Rajas*] for living free from bondage [*Jivan-mukta*] as an enlightened or God-realised soul. This is also implied in Villarr's (1929) concept of *Harmony vs. Discrepency* pointing out

that, in a harmonious habitat, there is neither excess nor deficiency of any element.

Similarly Daubenmire [1970 p 338] pointed out that the physical conditions that govern an organism "show a relationship existing between certain atmospheric and certain protoplasmic phenomena, all of which are set in motion by an unmeasured master of forces". Substantiating this, various aspects of human and social interest are discussed in *Jyotissastra.*

II. 2 PREDICTIONS IN JYOTISSASTRA

Modern ecology states that "man's ability to cope with ecologic problems arising from climatic cycles are not rhythmic hence he cannot predict their timing" [Daubenmire, 1972, p. 104]. Further it has also been pointed out that psychological attributes as motivation and behaviour, are not considered in environmental impact analysis "because of the difficulty in relating outside factors to changes in these factors" [Jain et al, 1977, p. 292] which are included in the internal environment. But what has been considered as a difficult task in modern science is achieved by Jyotissastra through *Rāja-yoga* by taking both external and internal environment into consideration for successfully predicting the ecological and environmental conditions and events (Prasad, 1984, 1986) coupled with Human Spiritual ecology.

II. 3 ADAPTATIONS AS UNIVERSAL INDICATORS

[a] The western ecology states [Daubenmire, 1972. p. 354]: "Man has long been interested in explaining how the adaptations came about, but untill recently the interpretations have almost entirely philosophical and not based on a careful analysis of facts". The ancient Indian texts [Prasad, 1984, 1986 b, d] dealt with important aspects of adaptations in plants and animals in true perspective.

[b] Varahamihira's work [Prasad, 1984 1986 b, d] rationally reveals that the well-defined morphophysiological features of adaptation of the ecological races, consisting of the taxonomically diverse species, are the universal indicators. But the modern texts [Malyuga 1962; Brocks 1963] erroneously classified the taxonomic species as universal and local indicators.

II. 4 GROUND WATER RESOURCES

(*a*) *Location of Well Sites*: Due to adequate rainfall and abundant water sources, location of ground water resources is not a problem of practical importance in the humid west; and hence it has not developed as a science, But in arid and semiarid regions, particularly in the hard rock areas, location of the well sites for the exploitation of ground water is the most difficult hydrogeological task. In India the well sites are located by either the mystic or magical 'water-divining' methods or the ineffective resistivity survey. Consequently thousands of borewells are indiscriminately drilled without ensuring the availability of ground water resulting in enormous wastage of human and material resources. Varahamihira provided excellent and efficacious methods to successfully tackle this most intricate problem (Prasad, 1986 b,c,d,).

(*b*) *World Bank Seminar*: Varahamihira delt with exploration and exploitation of ground water resources applicable to arid and semi--arid regions devoid of surface water sources in the most rational manner. But the World Bank seminar on ground water, held in May 1986 at Washington D. C., stressed the urgent need for ground water development in the *flood-prone* river basins of the Ganges, Brahmaputra, and Irrawady in the northeastern region of India insted of rationally bestowing attention on the urgent need for the development of gronnd water in the *drought-prone* southern and western regions of the country where acute and chronic water scarcity conditions prevail. This seminar however revealed that enormous exchequer is wasted due to lack of coordination between the national apex agencies, viz; the Oil and Natural Gas Commission [O.N.G.C] and the Central Ground Water Board [C.G.W.B].

II. 5 WATER SOURCES, INSECT ECOLOGY, AND AGRICULTURE

While dealing with ground water development in the tropics, Varahamihira also stressed the need for developing and protecting the surface water sources for ecologic balance; and pointed out that insects especially are extremely sensitive to desiccation and resort to migration responding to humidity gradients. Modern science (Kennedy, 1927; Allee et al, 1946, 1p. 87) is

aware of this aspect of insect ecology but not its applied aspect involved in agriculture and Human Ecology.

An outstanding example in this regard is provided by the current situation in the African continent, which passed through the most severe drought-the worst in 50 years. To tackle this, borewells were indiscriminately drilled without bothering about the dwindled surface water bodies. The Johnson *Drillers Journal* (1982, vol. 55, 3 & 4, p. 19) projected the item "Ground Water, an Answer to South African Drought" and pointed out that the water well drilling contractors in U. S. A. were enjoying the heaviest work load amassing wealth.

Now the adverse ecological effects are being faced. From Senegal to Ethiopia, a new plauge was developed by billions of locusts, grasshopers, and other insects devouring the agricultural crops, resulting in enormous damage and destruction as devastating as famine itself; and an estimated expenditure of 19 million dollars is involved during 1986-87 to combat this most serious infestation. In some parts of this continent, it has been found cheaper to bring in food-aid than try to control the adult migratory insects.

II. 6 ALL WATERS EQUALLY DIVINE

The ancient Indians treated all forms of natural waters, without any distinction as atmospheric, surface, and ground waters, to be of the same divine nature and recited: "The waters which are from the heaven, or those which spring up by themselves, the bright pure waters that tend to the sea, may those divine waters protect me here" [*Rig Veda*: vii. 49. 2].

(*a*) *Bhu-Jal News*, a quarterly journal of the C. G. W. B. (April-June, 1987, vol. 2 (2), p. 20), projected "Seven Virtues of Ground Water", as suggested by the U.S. National Water Works Association in *Developing World Water*, without considering the problems of ecologic balance and the socio-economic condition of the developing countries in the tropics (Prasad. 1986 b, c).

(*b*) *Ganga River Cleaning*: Considering the River Ganga to be holy, the Government of India has undertaken the project, called Ganga Action Plan, with a total plan outlay of Rs. 250 crores for cleaning this river which has been grossly polluted like any

other river in the country; it created the Central Ganga Authority which in turn appointed the Thames Water Authority of U.K. for its advisory services with an estimated expenditure of £ 200,000 which is provided by the British Govt. as grant-in-aid. In addition to U.K., the foreign offers of assistance for the Ganga cleaning have also been received from the World Bank, U.S.A., France, and the Netherlands.

All waters are holy and divine and all waters need to be cleaned for the benefit of all the people in the country. The total amount, proposed to be spent by India and other foreign countries, can be more profitably spent for cleaning all waters in the country without any superstition that the Ganga river alone is holy and divine.

II. 7 WATER QUALITY AND TREATMENT

(*a*) *Solar and Lunar Treatment*: The Ayurvedic texts prescribed the surface water bodies, exposed to the rays of the sun and the moon (*Amsudakam*), as the sources for drinking and domestic purposes. The ultraviolet radiation in the sunlight kills the bacteria (Salle, 1961). The experiments on solar disinfection, first published in the British medical journal, *The Lancet*, in 1980, carried out subsequently in the Tenessee Technical University, revealed that sunlight privides the low cost method to treat polluted waters (*Futurist*, March-April 1986). The significance of such experiments and their domestic application have been published as a booklet, entitled "Solar Disinfection of Drinking Water and Oral Rehydration solutions", in English and Arabic by the UNICEF in Amman, Jordan. The medicinal properties of the water, exposed to the moonlight, as suggested in Ayurveda, have yet to be tested by the modern scientists.

(*b*) *Viral Disinfection*: In the temperate climates, the water-borne diseases are only bacterial; but in the tropics, the epidemic and endemic water-borne diseases are caused by viruses, bacteria, protozoa, and parasitic worms. But the modern methods of water treatment do not offer any effective method of viral disinfection.

During the monsoon period, a viral fever called 'brain fever' or Japanese enc, phalites; is widely prevalent as a recurring phenomenon particularly in southern India resulting in the

severe debilitating effects and deaths or thousands of children. At such times, as a preventive measure, indiscriminate killing of the pigs is resorted to by the municipalities; and the controversy arises between the practitioners of allopathic and homoeopathic medicines regarding the efficacy of the treatment each medical system prescribes.

Ayurvedic texts prescribed repeated quenching of drinking water with a red-hot metal (gold, silver, copper or iron) or stone or sand was prescribed for viral disinfection. The virologists may test this method, of course, following the *yuga-dharma*, with appropriate instrumental techniques.

(*c*) *Toxic Metals*: Susruta Samhita suggested mosses and twisted roots of lotus or water lilies in water purification. Aquatic plants,• such as mosses, water hyacinth, seaweeds, duckweeds (Lemnacae), etc., behave essentially as simple ion-exchangers, and are capable of absorbing and accumulating the toxic heavy metals to a spectacular degree. A researcher from the University of New Hampshire in the International Conference on "Innovative Biological Treatment of Toxic Waste waters" held at Arlington, VA, revealed that the plant *Eloda nuttalli* eliminated copper and zinc in 200 gallons/day domestic waste treatment (*Bioprocessing Technology*, July 1986).

(*d*) *Ground Water Purification*: Varahamihira suggested a simple biogeochemical method, involving a mixture of *anjanam*, *Musta* (*Cyperus rotundus*) bulbs, *Usira* (Vetiveria ziznoides), powder of *Rajakosataka* (*Luffa cylindrica*), and *Amalaka* (Phyllanthus *emblica*), combined with Kataka (*Strychnos potatorum*) nuts, to be put into a well; If the well water is turbid, pungent, brackish, and of bad taste and odour, it will become clear, tasty, and aromatic, endowed with other good qualities.

Modern science [Jain etal, 1977, p. 202] points out that "when ground water becomes contaminated, water purification is a difficult task"

According to a report of the *Swedish International Press Bureau*, released in November 1986, a company, Vyrmetoder AB, near Stockholm, suggested a procedure in which water, enriched with oxygen, is forced down into a well for about 20 hours, once in

every fortnight, to facilitate, removal of iron and manganese. Such a cumbursome procedure, that too of partial purification, is beyond the scope of practical application under Indian conditions.

(*e*) *Standards of Drinking Water Quality*: The World Health Organization (W.H.O) prescribed the 'International Standards of Drinking Water Quality', in terms of certain hydrochemical and hydrobiological parameters, without sound scientific basis (Prasad, 1986c); and such standards have been blindly imitated by I. C.M.R (1975). I.S.I. (1983), and Dept of Rural Development (1986).

The Ayurvedic texts distinguished the quality of rain water of the interior land (*Gangodakam*) from that of the coastal areas (*Samudrodakam*), having marine influence, with a simple test based on osmosis; and prescribed *Gangodakam* as the standard for the drinking water quality in the most rational manner; and suggested the simplest and most effective treatment methods, understandable even to the illiterate rural masses in India, to obtain potable water of the prescribed rainwater quality.

Cohen and Hannah (1971, p. 67) stated that "the ancient Sanskrit texts afford the earliest recorded knowledge dating back perhaps to 2000 B.C., and, in addition to heating or boiling and filtration, the other methods of purifying water included the use of a variety of mineral and vegetable substances, principally the seed of *Strychnos potatorum* as an effective coagulant".

II. 8 MODERN SCIENTISTS ON ANCIENT INDIAN SCIENCE

The ancient scientific Sanskrit works lay buried these many centuries within the confines of mere literary scholarship which had hardly any inkling of the matured scientific knowledge they embody. Hence, the western writers pointed out that the ancient Indian science was not comparable (Anthony, 1957, p. 19) but "inferior to that of the West in all respects" (Taylor, 1949, p. 54) and that it was borrowed and "debased b› the persistence of vedic lore" (Mason, 1957, p. 70).

Raja Ramanna (1984), former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, has stated that the sutra method in the

ancient texts "constitute an alternative method of expressing scientific terminology and requires thorough examination because it seems to be simple, more compact than and as accurate as the symbolic method that is currently in use". The significance of the Indian science could not be realised all these centuries of years as the earlier scholars, who provided translations and commentaries, were untrained in science aud always gave a philosophical basis to all *slokas* and *sutras*. Raja Ramanna (1976) showed how *Tarka Sangraha*, a 17th century primer of Indian logic by Annambhatta, becomes modern physics if appropriate scientific terminology is used in the translated versions.

While inaugurating the Indo-US Workshop on science broadcasts, jointly organised by the All India Radio (AIR) and the Indo-US Subcommission, in November 1986 at Bangalore, Dr. H. Narasimhaiah, former Vice-Chancellor of the Bangalore University, has pointed out that 185 world-renowned scientists, including 18 Nobel-laureates, have stated that "those who wish to believe in astrology should realise that there is no scientific foundation for its tenets". Obviously, this is the stupendous superstition of the modern scientists of super-specialities with narrow vision.

III. HUMAN/SPIRITUAL ECOLOGY AND FUTUROLOGY

III. 1 JYOTISSASTRA AND FUTUROLOGY

The Sanskrit *sutras*, evolved through the rationalist philosophy of *Raja-yoga*, are the "synthetic a priori' axioms which constitute the knowledge of the external physical world as experienced by sensory perception. These *sutras* deal with the natural processes and phenomena, such as those of water, which conform to the divine law of unity in diversity; and various ecological and environmental effects or responses, developed by the regulatory control of the natural object, under study, as a divine form, are used as *bioindicators* for exploration and exploitation of the natural resources, maintaining perfect ecological balance and harmony in nature, without any adverse effects. The characteristics of these bio-indicators, reflecting the divine atributes, are selected to imply the human values ethical principles with a series of norms and standards logically and practically leading to a goal, or an end in both scientifie and spiritual

worlds. Such *sutras* are built up in a progression for the evolution of man ultimately as a God-realised soul. Sinnot (1955) has also similarly attempted to "elevate biological regulation to the 'Principle of Organization first as an attribute of God and finally as God Him-self".

III. 2 HUMAN ECOLOGY IN MODERN WORLD

In the modern world today, over-exploitation of natural resources, in an indiscriminate manner, has led to pollutions and perversions in the advanced affluent countries in the humid west, while under-utilisation of the resources has led to poverty, hunger, and disease, with the accompanying social evils, in the developing or under-developed countries in the tropical east. In both cases, the root-cause is the faulty application of applied ecology devoid of human/spiritual ecology. Roger Revelle of Harvard University (*Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, March 1968, p. 19) is deeply concerned and critical about the "irrelevant technology of the west" applied in the poor countries in the tropics by many visiting "experts" with assignments under the technical assistance and developmental aid.

Modern scientists, of late, have realised the paramount importance of ecology for the welfare of the mankind. "Ecology is the science of all the relations of all the organisms to all their environments" (Taylor, 1936). It includes "a wide variety of messages to man. These should be interpreted as skilfully as possible if man's future is to be assured" (Jain et al, 1977, p. 54); and "It would be a suicidal over-sight to let technology become prepotent over ecology" (Wallia, 1970, p. 12).

But modern workers (Margenau, 1964), hold the fallacious notion that scientific laws and ethical laws are evolved by distinctly different processes and hence they are unable to bring out any correlation and integration between physical sciences and humanities/social sciences; and it is a misperception of Allport (1959, p. 137) that "moral values can not be derived from natural data nor from science".

Bugental (1970, p. 291) pointed out that "in the physical sciences the great leaps forward have been made" without any significant progress in the human sciences essential to save the

human race which, for its welfare, will be heavily influenced, according to the prediction of Watts (1970), by the Indian philosophy.

III. 3 FUTUROLOGY OF MODERN INDIA

India gained freedom politically but not from science and technology points of view. Its numerical strength of the scientists occupies the third position in the world. But research in India generally is imitative or repetitive but not innovative; and it is a chief factor for the present misery in the country.

The western commentators have noted that the year 2000, as a millennial year, invites an assessment of the progress that mankind has made and predictions of what the future will be like. In this context the Stanford University has carried out during 1968 a futurology project on "Technology and Human Values" towards 21st century. Hence such projects have recently been started in India also. In this connection, it is relevant to recall what Swami Vivekananda stated about a century ago which holds good even now. His quotable quotes are:

"The nation is sinking, the curse of unnumbered millions is on our head — those to whom we have been giving ditch-water to drink when they have been dying of thrist and while the perennial river of water is flowing past".

"What we want is not so much of spirituality as a little of the bringing of the Advaita into the material world. First bread and then religion. We stuff them too much with religion, when the poor fellows have been starving. No dogmas will satisfy the cravings of hunger".

"You may have thousands of societies, twenty thousand political assemblages, fifty thousand institutions. These will be of no use... It is bread that the suffering millions of burning India cry out for with parched throats".

"Take your universities. What have they done during ... their existence? They have not produced one original man. They are merely an examination body".

"We Indians are so weak today, because large numbers of us are trying to build up our edifice of glory on entirely western

ideas which have begun to eat into the vitals of our nation. India can never generate strength, nor can the attitude of a beggar elicit respect from the nations of the west".

The fond hope of Swami Vivekananda was to build up material civilisation for creating work for the poor and to make a European society with Indian philosophy. This can be achieved only through the indigenous science, expounded in Sanskrit, with *sruti-smriti* concept.

These ancient scientific Sanskrit texts of the **People's Technology**, *involving an innovotive, user-oriented mass approach, with appropriate low-cost techniques, understandable to the general public and flexible for modification at local level, for self-help even in the remote rural areas in the poor tropical countries.*

IV. CONCLUSION

The U.S. Environmental Policy Act (NEPA, 1969), emulated by other nations (Munn, 1975), is to "encourage productive and enjoyable harmony between man and his environment". Such a harmony can be rapidly and successfully achieved by science and technology, appropriate to the environment, including the internal spiritual environment as revealed through the ancient insights of *Raja-yoga.*

Modern science involves deterministic reduction of man to the status of a rational animal; and Cassirer (1953) has suggested: "Instead of defining man as an animal rationale, we should define him as an animal symbolicum". But *Raja-yoga,* through perfect scientific induction and deduction, elevates man as a symbol of God, conforming to the ultimate goal of the Indian philosophy: *Tat tvam asi* ("That thou art").

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MECHANICAL CONTRIVANCES IN MEDIAEVAL INDIAN ROYAL PALACES

P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAN

Bhoja of Dhāra who is credited with the authorship of Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, one of the outstanding works on Indian Rhetorics is also the author of Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, a work on Indian architecture of the 11th century. There is an interesting account in the work of mechanical controvances made use of in Royal palaces.

The term 'Yantra' means control of the Elements of Nature to serve human ends. Among the machines some are self propelling (svayam vāhaka) and some others need propulsion but once, yet others are concealed and still others function from a far. Some of them are multipurpose and are marvellous. There is one kind of machine which functions on its own and another which is to be carried in a vehicle. In the wheel for drawing water we find this illustrated. The elements of earth, water, fire and air are utilised in the making and manipulation of the mechanical contrivances. Iron, copper, silver, tin, wood and hide are the materials out of which they are made. The contrivances have various functions such as reaching the target, whirling round and round, producing something, catching hold of a thing, striking at an object, transformation of an object into something else, heating and cooling.

The character of these contrivances are manifold. They are marked by one or more of the following character — 'cohesiveness, free and uninterrupted movement, invisibility, efficiency, lightness, freedom from noise, causing loud peal of noise when required, being well knit, absence of stiffness, smoothness, rhythmic motion, producing the desired result as and when required and resumption of original state at other times, artificial objects (birds etc.) bearing close similarity with the real ones, firmness, softness and capacity to render long service.

Some of these machines are intended to perform certain acts (kriyā). Some like the water clocks indicate time; some like the musical instruments produce sound both melodious and terrific; some like the fountains (dhārā yantra) reach great heights; some like pictures of demigods and animals are objects to be seen and touched to be admired. The machines move up and down and cross-wise. They walk, leap and fall. There are contrivances which can delight the kings and nobles with vocal and instrumental music played on lute tabor, flute, drum and gong; yet others which play delightful dance of the wild (tāṇḍava) and gentle (lāsya) variety, the refined type appreciated by princes and nobles and of the local variety as well. The creatures of earth may be seen moving high in the sky and the denizens of heaven walking on earth. The fight between Gods and demons, the churning of the ocean, the strangling of Hiraṇyakaśipu by Nṛsimha, leaping great heights, elephant fight all these are rendered possible by mechanical manipulation.

There are swings, love chambers and servants that act automatically. There are mysterious halls which appear from some where and then disappear. A bedstead placed in the groundfloor will move up to the 2nd 3rd 4th and 5th floor as desired as though by a lift arrangement. There is a putrikānāḍi, a lady-like figure that wakes up at every nāḍikā indicating a measure of time. Fire will jet from water and water from fire! An object will appear totally dissimilar to the source and sometimes appears out of void. An object is pushed up to the sky when one exhales and the same is dragged down when one inhales. One can command the bed in the milky ocean supported by Ādiśesha.

An astronomical model with needles pointing the motion of planets day and night located in the palace for the guidance of kings in his activities is another marvellous machine kept in the royal palace. An elephant ride becomes a charioteer in a moment. As the oil in the lamp gets burnt up a dancing doll moves up regularly and replenishes the oil lost. A machine elephant drinks water through its trunk when water is offered to it. Parrots and other birds talk and dance. There are dolls and elephants, horses and monkeys all forms of machine that twist and dance and merrily go around causing amusement to the on looker. Water from tanks and springs flows through canals forwards and backwards. Some figures leap, do the boxing fight and retire. Some

dance and sing and yet others play on the flute by air pressure exerted by the machines. How these machines are capable of doing these marvellous acts is a top secret not to be revealed to any one, says the author. The authorised ones will learn by secret instruction by the preceptor.

The authorised person is one who is, born in the lineage of the artificer who manipulates the machine, is skilful and eager to learn the art and intelligent enough to operate it, says Bhoja.

There is also reference to certain miraculous birds made of wood which produce sweet and mild notes caused by the motion of air pushed inside the contrivance. It shall consist of two parts the whole body presenting the appearance of a drum with a hole in it. This bird stationed in the bed room is capable of producing a sweet note that will arouse the erotic emotion. The notes of a lute, drum, conch, kāhala also can be produced by the appropriate manipulation of such a contrivance.

There is another wooden contrivance of the size of a huge bird made of hard wood with a jar like machine in its belly filled with mercury. With heat provided at its bottom it will carry a person mounted on it far above in the sky propelled by its pair of wings that push up air. The heat is imparted by the fire kept in an iron jar like vessel. As the plane soars up it roars like a lion. On hearing this sound elephants flee in fright!

Wooden frame of a man or women can be made with all the parts of the body like eyes, neck, palm, hand, elbow, fingers etc. with holes and joints suitably sewn with thin steel wire to enable movements of neck, hand etc. up and down and crosswise. The doll will shake hands, offer betel, spray water, hold up a mirror and play on the lute.

Yet another contrivance made of wood is a door keeper who will regulate admission by opening and closing the door. It is capable of dealing a heavy blow all on a sudden with a sword or a lance or a hammer that it is provided with on the thief who stealthily enters the apartment at night.

Contrivances in the form of soldiers are provided with bow, thunderbolt, the long hook (ushṭragrīva = camel neck) etc. to protect the royal fort. Others to play with can also be made.

Water Machines

Apart from the lift irrigation type called *pātayantra* for watering the garden, there is also the *ucchrāya Yantra* which carries water up to the desired height to fill a tank from which water is taken through pipes to bath rooms and other places where water is made to drip through holes in a pot. A similar device is contained in the figure of a wooden elephant which drinks the water placed near it. Water is also drawn up through a sub-terranean bore.

Dhārāgriha is a shower bower constructed in palaces and described in the works of Kalidasa and others as places resorted to in summer to allay the heat. Water is conducted through pipes. A graphic description is given by Bhoja to this summer resort of the king. It shall be constructed at a beautiful spot near a tank with perennial supply of water. There shall be plants all around, pūrṇakumbhas placed at appropriate places. The building should be supported by pillars numbering 100, 32, 24, 16, 12 or 4 that are plated with gold or silver and studded with gems or made of devadāru trees. The hall shall have latttice windows and adorned with figures of birds and peacocks, monkeys, semi-divine beings, dancing figures of men and women in pair, motifs of trees and creepers, rows of swans, swarms of bees etc. In the midst of all these there shall be water pipes with holes in them laid along the pillars and walls. Water will be caused to pour through the trunks of images of elephants. Water will also be caused to be sprayed through eyes, navel, fingers etc. of images of ladies stationed there. The architect is exhorted to make it an artistic piece that will delight the king. In the midst of this picturesque and cool dhārāgriha the king will be seated on a throne made of gold and set with gems. There he shall take his bath to the accompanishment of 'maṅgalavādya' and dance by skilful artists as Indra does in heaven.

There is another variety called '*Pravarshaṇayantra*'. Strong figures of 3, 4, or 7 men are to be set up provided with curved pipes that enable these figures to pour water in jets in different directions. The shower is controlled by the opening and closing of doors. It is a place of marvals where one wonders whether clouds are moving about. It is supported by 4, 8, 12 or 16 pillars with two storeys of square shape. It resembles a pushpakavimāna.

On the top of it will be a tank with lotuses, on the four corners of which are to be stationed four wooden images of well decked women all of them casting their lustful eyes on the artificial lotus in the centre of the pond. The king will be seated on the lotus in the pond that is filled with water conveyed through golden pitchers. Water will pour through the eyes, ears, nose etc. of the images around that square pond. The king shall reside in the centre of this structure with an underground passage for him to get in and out and the showers will be provided at the top of the structure. It will be marked by decorative paintings in the interior where the king stays. There shall be sālās and toraṇas to add to the beauty of the building and figures of lotuses fish, crocodile and aquatic birds to lend charm to the pond.

This secluded spot can be used by feudatory chiefs, guests of the king and foreign ambassadors for their unobtrusive stay. The king can spend his time in that place accompanied by courtesans indulging in water sports.

In the centre of the tank a maṇḍapa supported by four pillars will be created adorned by strings of pearls and corals and beautiful figures of women. The tank will be fortified by walls of the Svastika type. The king shall get into the central pavilion (pushpaka) with his close associates and ladies in waiting and enjoy sports in the pellucid water diving into and emerging out of the surface of water.

The next is a swing which is caused to whirl round and round called Rathadolā, made of wood. There are several kinds of swing called madananivāsa, vasantatilaka, vibhramaka and Tripura.

Vasanta is one that is planned on a dug out with four pillars with seats well laid. It shall be eight hastas long and four hastas broad. At the centre shall be an iron pillar with a machine to cause rotation of the seats and at the apex there shall be a kalaśa. When the machine is set in motion at the bottom the upper part of the structure revolves.

In the Madananivāsa type there is no dugout but the manner of operation is the same as above. There are two storeys with rathikas in the four directions.

In the Vasantatilaka there are two storeys with the machanism fitted in the ground floor with more than one wheel operating in diverse ways causing an action complex. There shall be eight seats in the upper storey.

In the vibhramaka type there is a greater variety in the motion; the number of storeys being three or four and spoked wheels that are fitted into being one at the bottom and another above, there is a capacity for a wider variety of revolutions. The wheels are interlinked.

In the Tripura type there shall be three tiers above with entrance on the east. It shall be provided with smaller wheels and steps leading from one tier to another. The motion can be slowed down or speeded up by manipulation.

THE INDIAN SYNTHESIS – RACIAL AND CULTURAL INTER-MIXTURE IN INDIA

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

The General President of the All-India Oriental Conference may be expected to give his considered opinion on some broad aspect of Indian history and civilisation in which he is specially interested. My own subject has been Linguistics, and this, as a human science, is intimately linked up with the other human sciences like Anthropology, Ethnology, Sociology, Religiology etc. dealing with the various aspects and expressions of human life and culture. Language is intimately connected with Culture. What may be described as the "Language-Culture" background or basis of a people is more apparent and on the surface than its race; yet it is no less deep in the mental and spiritual consciousness of the people. This is true especially when the original race has lost its basic character through interbreeding with other races. From the linguistic and cultural approaches, we may delve deeper into the fundamental racial beings and their prehistoric and historic modifications, leading to the evolution of new mixed types.

I propose as the Theme of my Discourse as President of this Conference the Subject of— "The Indian Synthesis, — Racial and Cultural Inter-mixture in India".

The word INDIAN is used in its most comprehensive sense, embracing all the various peoples or groups which go to make up the population of India. Within their formal religious or cultural affiliations, there is a basic mixed character which embraces all the peoples of India. This basic character is, consciously

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*Courtesy: TAMIL CULTURE. Vol. VIII. No. 4. Oct. Dec. 1959 Journal of the Academy of Tamil Culture.

or unconsciously, shared by all, and it has kept its lien with the attitude towards life and being which developed in ancient India, after the Indian people, as we find them now, became first characterised by miscegenation—the attitude which we might label as HINDU in its widest application. This embraces not only the world of the Brahman, Buddhist and Jaina but also later specialised expressions of the same attitude—including some aspects of Islam and Christianity as they developed within the Indian *milieu.*

The people and culture of India form a composite, a mixture, of at least four distinct types of humanity, which may loosely be called "race" — Which their various ramifications presenting distinct anthropological groupings, all may be brought under one or the other of the four kinds of Language-Culture" which we find in India from very ancient times......

The Indian people is a mixed people, in Blood, in speech, and in culture.

At the outset, I think it would be necessary to make a few general observations. The fundamental Unity of Man is a proposition which, if properly realised and not merely theoretically admitted, will enable us to think of racial and cultural miscegenation without repugnance, as a most natural thing in human relations. In India, this Unity of Man came to be regarded as part of the All-comprehensive Reality, the Supreme Self or the Over-Soul; as the Īśa Upanishad says—

YAS TU SARVĀNI BHŪTĀNI ATMANY EVANUPAŚYATI,
SARVA-BHUTEṢU CĀTMĀNAM, TATO NA VIJUGUPSATE:

"He who sees all creatures in the Self, and the Self in all creatures, because of that does not wish to hide himself away from (or hate) any one."

It was in India, too, that this sentiment was expressed in her greatest book, the Sanskrit epic of the Mahabharata—

guhyam brahma tad idam bho bravīmi,
na mānuṣāc chreṣṭhataram hi kiñcit:

"This is the secreat doctrine, I announce to you:
There is nothing higher than Man."

The division of mankind into ARYA and MLECCHA, HELLENES and BARBAROI, ISRAEL and GOYYIM (or Jew and Gentle), White and Coloured, Christian and Pagan, MUSLIM and KAFIR, COMMUNIST and Capitalist, as implying an inherent or divinely ordained racial of cultural superiority of the one over the other, is something which cannot be admitted by any rationally thinking person Yet we find overt or covert feelings of this kind of separatism operating in the minds of men in most lands. The desire for power and pelf, which dominates and underlies all organised movements for economic, political, religious and cultural expansion—movements which are generally blind to other deeper factors in life—makes an easy alliance with this sense of separatism. Just as no man is an island unto himself, so is no race or people or country basically separated or isolated from the others; we are linked with each other inextricably.

It has generally been accepted by competent scholars, both in India and abroad, who have been investigating into INDIAN CIVILISATION, that the fundamental trait of this civilisation may be described as HARMONY OF CONTRASTS, or as a SYNTHESIS CREATING A UNITY OUT OF DIVERSTY. Perhaps more than any other system of civilisation it is broad and expansive and all-comprehensive, like life itself and it has created an attitude of acceptance and understanding which will not confine itself to a single type of experience only, to the exclusion of all others.

THE INDIAN SYNTHESIS, apart from a most remarkable intermingling of material cultures and religious and social cults and customs, as well as doctrines and notions, is based on the higher intellectual and idealistic plane on the following: a Sense of the Unity of All Life as an expression of an Unseen Reality which is both transcendant and immanent *Kata-v-ul*, as an old Tamil name for the Divinity puts it; a Desire for Synthesis, seeking to combine apparently disconnected or discordant fragments in life as well as experience in their proper place in an Essential Unity; a rigid Adherence to the Intellect, while seeking to harmonise it in the higher plane with Emotion, with Intuition, and with mystic perception; a Recognition of the Sufferings and Sorrows of Life, and an attempt to remove them by going to the root cause of these Sorrows and Sufferings; a Feeling for the

Sacredness of all Life; and above all, a great Tolerance for all other Beliefs and Points of View. The realisation of this Ultimate Reality is the SUMMUM BONUM in life, and the paths for this realisation are recognised to be various according to individual training, temperament or predilection — whether of knowledge, or Love (with the background of Grace), or Self-discipline, or Good Deeds, even as the Ultimate Reality manifests itself in innumerable ways before the ken and cognisance of man. Its conception of the material world transcends time and space, and Matter and Energy are just different forms of the same physical stuff which is but an outward manifestation of this Unseen Reality.

All this synthesising tendency has been induced and made easy of development by the great fact of the presence in the Indian scene, from very ancient times, of different peoples with their diverse languages and cultures, and modes of living and thinking. These were all inevitably drawn together and were accommodated in a composite civilisation, in which there was no scope for the establishment of racialism, as from the very beginning, race-fusion started as a permanent feature. The name of one dominant race, ARYA, very soon lost its narrow ethnic significance or application and became rather a word to denote nobility and aristocracy of character and temperament. With the general acceptance of the Aryan language in North India, and with the admission of its prestige in the South as well, the fact that this language was profoundly modified within India by taking shape in a non-Aryan environment reconciled the Dravidians and others to come under the tutelage of Sanskrit as the sacred language of Hinduism and as the general vehicle of Indian culture.

India received all her human inhabitants, who came in successive waves, from abroad. These represent six main races in their nine ramifications, and speaking among them, languages belonging to at least four different speech-families which are still current — and there might have been other ones also which are now extinct. The speakers of these languages which are living till today, whatever their race or anthropological type, thus pertained to four "Language-Culture" groups.

The oldest people to come into India belonged to the Negrito or Negroid race, who arrived in the eolith stage of their culture

from Africa along the coast lands of Arabia and Iran and settled in Western and Southern India and spread over to Northeren India, and passed on to Malaya and the islands of Indonesia (Philippines and New Guinea). They were mostly killed off or absorbed by subsequent arrivals in India. They survive in a few tribes in South India where they now speak dialects of Tamil, and traces of them are found among the Mongoloid Nagas in Assam. A small number still retaining their language is isolated in the Andaman Islands, which they reached in prehistoric times, in their dug-outs from the south-western tip of Burma, namely, Cape Negrais. The Negroids evidently passed away, leaving hardly any trace in Indian civilisation and among the Indian people.

After the Negroids there came to India from the West, from Palestine, the medium-sized long-headed, snub-nosed and rather dark-skinned proto-Australoids. Some of these passed out of India and found themselves as far as Australia, where their decendants still live as the Australian aborigines ("Black Fellows"). Those who stayed on in India evidently became characterised into the Austric people, and developed their language and culture on the soil of India. The Austric people spread outside India in the East, and we note two main divisions of them: (1) Austro-Asiatics, represented by the Kol or Munda people of Central India, the Khasis of Assam, the Mons of Burma and Siam, the Khmers of Cambodia, the Chams of Cochin-China, and some other allied tribes in Burma and Vietnam, besides the Nicobarese; and (2) the Austronesians, comprising the Indonesians or "Malay people", the Melanesians and Micronesians, and the Polynesians. Everywhere there has been mixture of the Austric people with those of other races — Negroids and Caucasoids. The Austrics of India were known in ancient India as NISĀDAS, and possibly also as NAGAS (as well as Kollas and Bhillas in post-Christian times). They were a dark-skinned people speaking languages and dialets allied to Santali, Mundari, Kuriku, Gadaba and Savara, and to Khasi and Mon-Khmer dialects, as well as other speeches of the two branches of the family. These Austrics were spread all over India, and they form the most important element among the lower classes or castes throughout the country. In the great plains of North India, they have merged into an Aryan-speaking people and have lost their name and their language. They gave some basic things

in the material and spiritual domains to Indian civilisation, like the stick or hoe cultivation of rice, of some plants and vegetables, the domestication of the fowl, the taming of the elephant, the weaving of cotton, and some notions about future life which later were sublimated with the help of other elements into the doctrine of transmigration and SAMSĀRA

The Mongoloid peoples, with a number of different racial elements possessing certain common physical characteristics (yellow or yellow-brown skin, narrow or slant eyes, high cheek-bones, flat noses and paucity of hair on face), came into India probably before the Aryans, who knew them as KIRATAS. Evidence of their presence as far down as Mohenjo-Daro has been found. They entered into India from the East, along the course of the Brahmaputra river and its eastern tributaries, and also by way of Tibet, crossing the eastern Himalayas. They formed wide settlements throughout Assam, Bhotan and Nepal (which are Kirāta lands in India PAR EXCELLENCE), and also in East and North Bengal, North Bihar and the regions to the south of the Himalayas in North India right up to Kashmir. Some of them appear to have penetrated even further to the South — into Orissa and Central India (Bastar in Madhya Pradesh). The participation of the Kirātas in the common civilisation of India has been confined to the north and north-east only. But nevertheless, we have to take note of them as an important element in the formation of the Indian people in the extreme north, east and north-east, and in their participation in the development of Indian civilisation.

The next "Language-Culture" group which came to India is believed to be the Dravidian. There is strong reason to think that the orginal Dravidian speakers came to India from the East Mediterranean region, from Asia Minor, and they were mainly a people of the Mediterranean race, mingled with other racial elements like the Armenoid which came with them — all of these apparently united by a common speech. Elements of religion and civilisation these Primitive Dravidian speakers of Mediterranean origion brought with them into India probably before 3500 B.C.; and groups of them were settled in Mesopotamia and Persia — Iraq and Iran — before they became established in India. They were a highly advanced people, and the city civilisation of India, as opposed to the village culture which was the creation of the

Austrics (Kols, Mon-Khmers), was their great contribution. The pre-Aryan people of the Punjab and Sindh, known to the Aryan invaders as Dasa and Daasyu and later as S'udra, who are believed to have built up the great city cultures like those of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, are now *generally regarded as having been* Dravidian in speech, and social and political organisation. The Brahuis of Balochistan appear to be just a remnant of a Dravidian-speaking *bloc* in Sindh, South Punjab and Eastern Iran.

The Czechoslovak scholar B. Hrozny has recently (HISTOIRE DE I' ASIE ANTERIEURE, DE I'INDE, ET DE LA CRETE Paris, 1947: English translation, Prague, 1953) offered quite a new theory about the origin and early history of the people of Punjab and Sindh, who built up the recently discovered centres of culture like what we see at Mohen-jo-Daro, Harappa and other sites. He calls the builders of the Punjab and Sindh culture "Proto-Indians" and he thinks that they were a branch of the Indo-European speaking "Hittites" of Asia Minor with admixture of local Asianic (non-Indo-European) elements, like the Caspian Subaraeo-Hurrites. This mixed "Proto-Indian" people, with its Indo-European) elements, like the Caspian Subaraeo-Hurrities. This mixed "Proto-Indian" people, with its Indo-European language allied to Hittite, brought its religion and culture and elements of a heiroglyphical writing from Asia Minor, and built up the great prehistoric culture of Punjab and Sindh. The "Proto-Indians" flourished through trade with the Near East, but between 2000 to 1500 B. C. Dravidian-speakers from the north-west of India came down upon them and destroyed their culture and their towns. These Dravidian barbarians of unknown provenance, who had absorbed remnants of the "Proto-Indians", were in possession of the country when between 1500-1200 B. C. equally rude seminomad Vedic Aryans came into the field and established themselves as conquerors over all the pre-Aryan populations. Hronzy's conclusions are based on the assumption that the Sindh-Punjab script and its language can be explained by the heieroglyphic Hittite script of Asia Minor and the Indo-European speech of the "Nesian" Hittites. All these assumptions are highly speculative, and some of the linguistic and cultural interpretations of Hronzy' (his greatness as investigator in having deciphered successfully the ancient Hittite script and read the language correctly being always admitted) seem not to be war-

ranted by the actual facts, linguistic and otherwise. The question of the "Proto-Indian" script, language, religion and culture, in spite of some very clever suggestions of Hrozny', in which he has intimately linked it up with the Asianic linguistic, epigraphical and cultural background, still remains an open one.

Dravidian-speakers spread all over India, and they appear to have lived side by side with the Austric speakers in the great river-valleys of North India from Punjab to East Bengal and Assam, and with the Mongoloids also in the sub-Himalayan tracts. But they were able to make their language and culture paramount throughout the whole of Central India and India to the Souto of the Vindhya mountains, many centuries before the Christian era—although the Dravidian speech retreated here also before the Aryan in posi-Christian times. Place-names of non-Aryan origin all over Northern India, where they are capable of analysis, suggest Dravidian and Austric as well as Sino-Tibetan elements, which are indicative of the presence of speakers of these languages in the land. But the DRAVIDIAN IS THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE NON-ARYAN ELEMENTS IN THE CIVILISATION OF INDIA: AND THE BASIC CULTURE OF INDIA IS CERTAINLY OVER 50% DRAVIDIAN, ALTHOUCH EXPRESSED IN THE MAIN THROUGH THE ARYAN LANGUAGE. — (Italics ours — Ed.)

Finally, we have the Indo-Aryans. The Indo-Aryans. — ĀRYĀS, as they called themselves — were a section of the great Indo-Iranian (or ARYAṆ, in this specialised sense) branch of the Indo-European speakers who became a powerful force and leaven in the civilisation of the Middle and the Near East and of Europe from about 2000 B. C. The original Indo-Europeans, according to W. Brandenstein, the most significant recent investigator on the subject (1936), were characterised in the dry highlands to the south of the Ural mountains, probably before 3000 B. C. Groups of them went west, and in the moist lands of what is now Poland developed the second phase of their culture which was the one which passed on further west into Eastern and Central, Northern and Western and also Southern Europe. In all those lands the original Indo-European speech and civilisation were transformed into those of the Balts and Slavs, the Celts and the Germans, and the Italians, Illyrians and Hellenes. There were earlier or older branches of Indo-

Europeans, like the Hittites (Nesian-Hittites) of Asia Minor, who are now believed by the most recent linguistic scholars, like the American E. H. Sturtevant and others, to have parted company with the main body of the Indo-European people long before the full characterisation of the Indo-European speech had taken place, as the immediate ancestor of Vedic Sanskrit, Old Iranian, Homeric Greek and other ancient Indo-European languages. This separation of the Hittites took place at a time when we can talk of a pre-Indo-European stage — a stage which has been named "Indo-Hittite", which was the source of primitive Indo-European on the one hand, and of the ancient Hittite on the other. Then there were the Tokharians, who were linguistically closely related to the Celts, the Germans, the Italians and the Hellenes of Europe, but who somehow found their way into Central Asia where they were in evidence from an unknown antiquity throughout the greater part of the first millennium A. D.

The Aryans (Indo-Iranians) are believed to have left the original Indo-Iranian homeland to the south of the Ural Mountains and to have come down, according to the two schools of opinion, either to Central Asia, or to the Caucasus regions and from there to Northern Mesopotamia. According to the former view, Central Asia to the north-east of Iran was the place where the primitive Indo-European language and culture were modified to Aryan or Indo-Iranian; and from this *nidus*, the Iranians spread to the south-west, and the Indo-Aryans to the south-east into India. According to the second view, Indo-European tribes which were being modified into Aryan or proto-Indo-Iranian, were first noticed in Northern Mesopotamia, and there they sojourned for some centuries before they trekked further south into Mesopotamia proper. There they took part in local affairs and formed ruling aristocracies in some states, developing their religion and culture by contact with local peoples (paricularly the Asianic races to their west, and the Assyrio-Babylonians) and modifying their language to a stage when it became the immediate source-speech for both Iranian and Indo-Aryan. The Aryans left traces of their presence in the records of the local peoples in Mesopotamia and Eastern Asia Minor which have now been unearthed and read, and these records give names and words in the Aryan language representing a pre-Vedic and pre-avestan form of the speech. Some of their tribes pushed on to the east and settled in Iran,

and others went further to the East, and through Eastern Iran they found themselves into India; and here we meet with them first, as Vedic Aryans.

The Aryan-speakers from the lands of the Middle East represented in the main a tall, fair, blond, blue-eyed, straight-nosed, waivy-haired and long-headed people — the Nordics; but scholars have also expressed the view that they included a shorter and round-headed people among them — the Alpines, whom they appear to have absorbed linguistically rather than by blood-fusion. Two distict ethnic groups are thus noticed among the Aryan-speakers who came into India *after* 1500 B.C. The language they brought became an instrument of the greatest power in the setting up of Indian civilisation. It was the Vedic language, the Old Indo-Aryan speech, which later on as Sanskrit was transformed into one of the greatest languages of civilisation in which the composite culture of ancient India found its most natural vehicle.

We have thus (not taking note of the all but extinct Negroid elements, and other possible languages with their connected cultures now long extinct) these four great speeches and the culture-worlds of which they were the expressions, which came into contact, conflict and compromise with each other in ancient India, when the ancient Indian or Hindu people was being formed, between about 1500 to 1000 B.C. According to F.W. Thomas (INDIANISM AND ITS EXPANSION, University of Calcultta, 1942, p. 7), it was "*the Vedic or Aryan period which witnessed the creation of the Indian Man.*"

The Indian Man was created out of a fusion of these four chief elements of ingredients which were operative in Northern India — the Austric or Austro-Asiatic, the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan, the Dravidian, and the Aryan: to give their Indian names, names ancient as well as modern, respectively, the Nisadas (or Nāga-Bhilla-Kollas), the Kirātas, the Drāviḍas (earlier the Dāsa-Dasyus and the *Śūdras*), and the *Āryas*.

So far, we know only of these four "language-culture" groups — loosely speaking, four "races". As it has been stated before, and as this might be reiterated once again, there might have been other similar "language-culture" groups as well. In fact, some scholars are suspecting the existence of one such — a fifth — group, of unknown linguishtic affiliation, the influence of which

as a substratum is dimly perceived below the surface of Dravidian and Austric as well as Aryan. We have to note the presence of the problem language spoken in the north-west of Kashmir, in the State of Hunza-Nagyr, viz. Burushaski or Khajuna, current among some 26,000 people. This language has been sought to be connected with Austric (Kol) on one hand and with the Caucasic speech family on the other. It will be quite in the nature of things to imagine that three or four thousand years ago, the area of the source-speech of Burushaski, whatever it was, did actually include Kashmir, North-western Frontier Province, Punjab and Sindh; the unexplained element in the present day Indian languages may then be linked up with some speeches allied to Burushaski. But future research alone will be able to establish it, and to give clear explanations to certain unsolved problems in the linguistics of Aryan, Dravidian as well as Austric.

A reference may incidentally be made to the theory put forward by the late P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar (in his LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA IN THE AGE OF THE MANTRAS, Madras, 1912) that there was no Aryan invasion of India at all with an appreciable disturbance of the original population which consisted of the Dravidians and other non-Aryans, and that the Aryan language and the Aryan fire-cult came into India from Iran as a culture-drift as the result of culture contacts between the Indians, essentially of Dravidian origin, and Aryans in Iran. According to this view, "the Aryan invasion of India is a theory invented to account for the existence of an Indo-Germanic language in North India." But there are other facts and evidences direct and indirect to show that there was actually a considerable movement of people in ancient times, and the invasions by the Dravidian and Aryan speakers were just some of the most far-reaching among these movements.

The Indian Synthesis now presents a remarkable consistence, in which diverse elements have been combined to give the general impression of a remarkable homogeneity. A certain unique cohesion has been given to it by a Philosophy which rises above the contradictory elements which have been sought to be accommodated to each other. The persistent efforts of the best intellects of the country for all these 3000 years, from the time of "the creation of the Indian Man" at the end of the Vedic period, i.e. by 1000 B. C. to harmonise everything with this synthesis, has

been most remarkably succesful. All this has been within a certain theory or ideology regarding its component racial elements and its characteristic social and ethical adjustments which has been framed, bit by bit, through generations of experience. This may not bear the scrutiny of a historical examination, any more than the cosmogony or "sacred history" of Judaism and Christianity and Islam, but this nevertheless has so far shown itself to be eminently logical as a philosophy and serviceable as an attitude, and to keep pace with the findings of modern science at the same time.

Comparison can be made of the formation of the people and its civilisation in India with that in Mexico, as it has been taking place there during the last four centuries. There are certain other countries which also show a similar mixture of peoples and cultures. Ancient Greece shows a most remarkable racial and cultural fusion between the pre-Indo-European and Mediterranean Aegean people (who created the great Pelasgian or Mycenean-Cretan-Trojan civilisation) and the incoming Hellenes (who brought their Indo-European Greek speech). This situation in Greece presents a most noteworthy parallel to the union of DRAVIDA and ARYA in India; there were at least three non-Aryan (or non-Indo-European) elements to the one of Greece. This parallel is particularly instructive and explanatory for the Indian racial and cultural miscegenation and synthesis too. Britain saw a fusion of the Mediterranean Iberian with the Indo-European Celt, and then this mixed population, Celtic-speaking, was overlaid by Germanic tribes, also of Indo-European speech. France is similarly Iberian, particularly in the south, Celtic, and Germanic (in the north), overlaid by mixed Italians (Romans) - the last three all speaking different forms of Indo-European. In Russia we have a Finno-Ugrian, an Altaic (Tartar) and a Slav (Indo-European) mixture, with Baltic and Scandanavian elements, the tone being given by the Russian language and social organisation. China shows admixture of only different branches of the same Mongolod or Sino-Tibetan people, but South-East Asia (Further India, i.e., Burma, Siam and Viet-Nam. Kambuja and the Cham Country) show a comingling of South Chinese. That and Tibeto-Burman as well as Karen and Miao-tzu and Man Mongoloids with Austro-Asiatics (Monf, Khmers, Chams and others). The Polynesians, according to the most recent opinion of the Norwegian explorer Thor Hyerdahl, are a conglomeration

of a white Caucasoid people from Peru, a yellow-brown Mongoloid people from the West coast of British Columbia in Canada (who originally came from Eastern Asia by sailing along the coast of Japan and the Aleutian Islands), and a black Malanesian element from the west of Polynesia. The Japanese are mainly a mixture of Mongoloids (of the type of the Ainus and the Koreans) and Indonesians (Malaya). In the northern tracts of West Africa a new people, the Fulbe or Pol, has come into being through the mixture of the Hamitic tribes like the Tuaregs from the Sahara and the True Negroes of West Africa. These are all cases of racial miscegenation with attendant cultural and linguistic fusion which took place during periods of unrecorded history. Just before our eyes at the present day, a fusion of peoples on a large scale is taking placc in America. In the United States through commingling of elements from among the various groups of people in Europe, a new type of a Caucasoid pan-European Man is evolving, with a dash of the Mongoloid in him, both from Mongoloid elements from Europe and small assimilated Amerindian and Chinese and Japanese elements accepted in America. But this racial fusion in America is not comprehensive enough, because it totally eschews other races than the "white race"—Caucasoids of various types (whether Nordic or Alpine, Mediterranean or Dinaric, long-headed or middle-headed or short-headed) alone participating in this mixture.

The racial fusion that started in India with great vigour some 3500 years ago, after the advent of the Aryans, was wider in scope than anywhere else in the world, with the white, brown, black and yellow peoples, Aryas, Dravidas, Nishadas and Kiratas, all being included in it. This kind of miscegenation, together with the admission into India of various other types of culture and religious outlook, has perhaps made *the average Indian more cosmopolitan in his physical and mental composition than representative of any other nation.* Thus our great heritage, the Aryan speech, together with the Nordic and other Western elements in our population, particularly the mentality that is behind our Aryan speech, is our great link with Indo-European-speaking Europe and America. Our Dravidian elements are another link with the basic culture and people of the Near East and the Mediterranean area; and the Austric bases of our people and culture have intimate connexions with South-Eastern Asia, Indonesia and beyond. Through our Kirata or Mongoloid background in Northern and

North-Eastern India, we are not only neighbours but also kinsmen of the peoples of the Far East and Central Asia. Finally, through Indian Islam, which has been a potent leaven in our civilisation for the last 750 years, we have more than a mere contact with the Arab and other Islamic lands; and during the last 300 years we have absorbed racial and cultural elements from modern Europe as well the Luso-Indians, Anglo-Indians and other Indians of Eurasian origin, with the different forms of Christianity which they profess, represent this latest phase of the Indian people.

I shall now discuss in brief *the character and result of this racial and cultural miscegenation, under the three heads of* (1) *Blood,* (*II*) *Speech, and* (*III*) *Culture, including Religion.*

The subject is very vast, and whole books can be written on each of the three aspects of it. I propose to give some of the main arguments under each head. The position is generally being admitted, but a formal statement appears to me to be needed at this juncture, if only to take stock of the situation.

I. BLOOD OR RACIAL FUSION AMONG ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN.

Taking certain extreme Indian types (where there has not been much mixing with other peoples) apart, like pure-blooded Kashmir Brahmins, Mongoloids like the Garos and Nagas, and Austrics like Santals, we may say that *a Common India type, a Common Indian Man, has evolved on the soil of India through intermixture of the races, particularly on the vast plains of the country.*

Dressed in the same kind of garb and bereft of distinguishing marks like special ways of doing the hair, beard, moustache etc., and special distinctive paraphernalia like caste-marks. etc., the average Indian type, whether in the upper classes or in the middle or lower, will be ordinarily difficult to locate in a particular area. A typical Mongoloid like a Naga from Assam, or a Gurung or Lepcha from the Himalayan areas, is different from a Punjab, Rajput or a South Indian tribesmen like a Chenchu or a Kadir. But an ordinary middle-class Indian, whether Brahman or Sudra, Hindu or Musilm, may be from any province, and there is no mistake about his Indianness. Representation in art from

the third century B. C. shows the presence of this Indian type as an accomplished fact on the soil of India for the last 2500 years: and doubtless this type goes back 500 or over 1000 years earlier. The Common Indian Man is ordinarily a brown man, pale or dark, either individually or in groups; he is not pure white as the Aryan was, or pure yellow like the Kirata or black like the Nishada. Although broadly he can be classified as long or middle or short-headed, straight or broad or flat-nosed, a general family likeness which marks him off from neighbouring peoples — Iranians or Burmese, Malaya or Arabs — is discernible among the ordinary run of Indians, if he does not in his physical make-up go to any of the extremes.

This is largely the result of racial mixture which was most thorough in Northern India ever since the Aryans came into the country, and even before that. No part of India, however, was free from this racial admixture. Constant streams of North Indian Hindus, after the formation of the Hindu people, were going to the extreme east, to the Brahmaputra Valley, and Manipur, and even beyond, carrying Brahmanical civilisation with them. They were going to the Deccan and South India, as Brahmans and Kshatriyas, as merchants and settlers, as soldiers and adventurers, and were merging into the Dravidian-speaking peoples in the more advanced areas. We may note the Nambudri Brahman leaven among the Nayars of Malabar as typical. In this way North and South, and East and West in India were brought together by racial fusion. The "Indian Man" also pushed beyond the frontiers of India, by both land and sea — into Burma, and Siam, and Cambodia and Champa, into Malaya and Indonesia in the east and south-east, into Ceylon in the south, into Afghanistan (Ariana) in the west, and into Khotan (Kustana) in the north, carrying his composite culture and his language, Sanskrit and the prakrit, and some times Telugu and Tamil, with him. But that is a different story.

The Aryans were a fair-skinned people, and judging from the description of the physical features of the Brahmans as the representative Aryans by even so late an author as Patanjali of the second century B.C., they were a tall, fair, blond people approximating to, if not identical with, the Nordic type. Colour prejudice was not so strong in those days, although it did exist; and after the Aryans found that they had to stay among the

dark-skinned non-Aryans, a great deal of the edge of the feeling against colour wore off, particularly when it was found that the sedentary agricultural non-Aryans boasted of a higher material culture than the semi-nomad Aryans.

As a pre-requisite to racial fusion, there must be first, linguistic assimilation; mingling of blood by marriage can only take place on a large scale *when people of diverse origin accept one common language and conform to the culture-type of which that language is the expression.* The Aryan language supplied this need for a common speech to the Dravida, Nishada and Kirata; and the want of linguistic unity or cohesion among the non-Aryan peoples of ancient India gave to the language of the Aryan its great opportunity, apart from its prestige as the language of a puissant CONQUISTADOR and from the inherent strength, expressiveness and beauty of the language itself.

The names of the non-Aryan tribes, DASA, DASYU and SUDRA, who were all of them Dravidian in speech, and their semantic developments in Sanskrit indicate the hostile and contemptuous sentiments of the first Aryans towards them. The word S'udra, as we can see from the Mahabharata and other works, became synonymous with DĀSA AND DASYU in the Aryan language, in post-Vedic times. The word DASA, originally a tribal name, corresponding to the related or exactly the same tribe in Iran, latterly known there as the DAHAI (in Greek writings), came to signify "slave" in Sanskrit: we can note a similar change in meaning of the tribal name SLAV ("slave") in Europe. DASYU, siimlarly, took up the meaning of a "robber"; the same tribe evidently was present in Iran, known to the Iranians as DAHYU, and this name later appears to have given a common Iranian word to mean "country, land, country-side" (Old Persian DAHYU, New Persian DEH or DIH). And ŚUDRA originally the name of a tribe living in Southern Punjab, who were observed by the Greeks and whose name was recorded by them, came to indicate the lower orders of an Aryan-dominated society — men and women of the Śudra CASTE. From the prescriptions in the later Dharma-Śastras or Smriti works in Sanskrit, and from statements as well as references to incidents in the post-Vedic Brahmana literature and the Mahabharata and the older Puranas, which either describe contemporary conditions or reflect the state of things for some centuries from the late Vedic period onwards (roughly,

during the first half of the first millennium B.C.), it would appear that inter-racial, that is, Aryan-non-Aryan marriages and connexions were for the common to be ignored. Of course Aryan orthodoxy, as an expression of the zeal for preserving their blood pure, which we find in a conquering people, with pride of race and sense of physical beauty, did not approve of these inter-racial marriages and connexions.

In the uncritical age, people were not very careful about tribal names, and the name of a particular tribe or small group could be extended to an entire "language-culture" group, or even loosely to all peoples of a different race or language who were contacted. Thus in Sanskrit and Prakrit Yavana and Yona (coming ultimately from the seventh century B.C. Greek form IAVONES, later IAONES and then contracted to IONES, through Semitic and Old Persian forms like YAWAN and YAUNA—) first meant in India just the Greek people, and then within a few centuries the name was extended to mean any Western Foreigner and finally, any non-Indian or non-Hindu Outsider, latterly even Indian Musalmans.

It would appear that all non-Aryans within the frame-work of the Aryan (Brahman)—dominated society which was being developed, a society in which the Aryans, as the masterful, though materially not so much advanced CONQUISTADORES, assumed special privileges, were at first given the general name of ŚUDRAS, and were relegated to an inferior position with considerable disabilities. But wealthy Sudras and those of them who were artisans and craftsmen, and not merely tillers of the soil or followers of unclean trades, when they became Aryan-speakers, frequently got access within the group or caste of the Vaisyas, or were given at least equality of status with them. Naturally, in a situation like this when the more ardent Aryans would try to preserve their racial purity, they could not support or tolerate mixed unions. When such unions took place, the "superior" people might allow the creation of a MESTIZO class by men of their own group taking to wife women of the inferior group; and this was thought natural and proper (what was known in ancient India as ANULOMA marriage), but would resent if it happened the other way (PRATILOMA marriage).

But judging from direct and indirect references in early Sanskrit literature, although frowned upon or glossed over by the later

writers including the writers in Dharma-Śastras or Hindu social codes, these mixed marriages, both anuloma and pratiloma, appear to have been exceedingly common, e.g., during the late Vedic and pre-Buddhic times, as depicted, for instance, in the Mahabharata. I need not mention marriages, both ANULOMA and PRATILOMA, among the three avowedly DVIJA, i.e. "twice-born" or Aryan caste: these were quite permissible. But even a Śudra marrying an Aryan woman, Brahman or Kshatriya or Vaisya, was evidently no uncommon thing. The off-spring of all such unions were recognised in both the earlier and the later law-books, the DHARMA-SUTRAS and DHARMAŚAŚTRAS, in an Aryanising society, although different degrees of high or low position was allotted to them.

We have a whole host of names of such "mixed castes" in the Mahabharata and Dharma-Śastras and other works, noted with varying degrees of toleration or condemnation. These names have been classified and enumerated by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane (in his HISTORY OF DHARMA-ŚĀSTRA, Vol. II, Part I, Poona 1941, pp. 69-103) and by Sailendra Nath Sen Gupta ("The Caste System in Bengal" in CENSUS 1951: WEST BENGAL: THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF WEST BENGAL, edited by Ashok mitra, I.C.S., and published by the West Bangal Government, Calcutta 1953, pp. 47-58). In the slighly longer list given in the West Bengal Report for the 1951 Census, Sen Cupta enumerates as many as 209 names of mixed castes, and of non-Aryan groups which at one time or other came to be connected with the Hindu body-politic and were looked upon either as castes due to miscegenation or as degraded Hindus—and of Aryan origin too, as they were considered to be outcasted from Aryan society in many cases. We may mention certain castes of mixed origin which were interracial (unlike, for example, mixed castes resulting from ANULOMA and PRATILOMA marriages among Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, who were all thought to be of Aryan origin): UGRA (Brahman, Kshatriya or Vaiśya father + Śūdra mother); NĀPITA or PARAŚAVA (Brahman or Kshatriya + SUDRA mother); DĀSA, NIṢĀDA (BRĀHMAN + Śudra): DAUṢYANTA, MLECCHA, GOPLA (KSHATRIYA + Śudra); KARAṆA RATHAKĀRA, Kaṭakāra SŪCAKA, ĀYOGAVA (also = off—spring of Vaiśya + Kshatriya, and ŚUDRA + Brahman); KṢATTR, CARMAKĀRA, MĀGADHA, MĀGADHA, PULKASA, YAVANA = (Greek:), VAINA VAIDEHAKA,

TANTUVĀYA, RAÑJAKA, SŪLIKA or SŪṆIKA, NIṢĀDA, VRĀTYA (Śudra + Kshatriya); ANTYĀVASĀYIN, AYOGAVA, MAGADHA, PULKASA, VAIDEHAKA, VAIDYA, CAKRIN, CĀKRIKA Śudra + Vaisya). It would be seen that there is no unanimity and uniformity among ancient writers about these names. Doubtless, many of these names were confined to a part of the country only, and these were confused later by compilers of Dharma—Śastras and other works in other parts of the country. Names were given to other groups which orgininated by further admixture among the mixed castes noted above: for example, APITA (Brahman+DAUSYANTA Kshatriya + Śudra). AVRTA (Brahman+UGRA Brahman, Kshatriya, or Vaisya+Sudra); KHANAKA (Ayogava+Kshatriya); UD! EANDHAKA (Khanaka or Śulika + Kshatriya; KARAVARA (Vaidehaka+Nishada, or Nishada+Kshatriyay + Vaidehaka); KANDARA (Kaivarta, a Śudra, possibly Austic + Koca, North Bengal Tibeto-Burman Bodo; KUKUNDA (MAGADHA + Śudra); etc. etc. The list need not be increased, as full lists will be found in the works cited above.

We are at once presented with a parallel in post-Spanish Mexico, where there has been this kind of ANULOMA and PRATILOMA marriages among the three races found in America — the Amerindian Mongoloids (Azted, Mixtec-Zapotec, Totonac, Otomi, Maya etc. etc.), the Spaniards or Hispanic Caucasoids, and the Negroes brought as slaves from Africa. Here are some characteristic names for these various mixed groups in Mexico and Latin America: thus, MEXTIZO (cross between Spanish father and Amerindian mother — anuloma caste most common) CASTIZO (Mestizo+Spanish woman); ESPANOLO (Castizo+Spanish woman); MULATTO (Spanish+Negro woman); MORO or MOOR (Mulatto+Spanish woman); ALBINO (Spaniar+Moor or Moorish woman); SALTA ATRAS or 'Throwback' (Spaniard +Albino woman); LOBO or 'Wolf' (Salta Atras+Amerindian woman); ZAMBIAGO (Lobo+indian woman); (Cambujo+Mulatto woman); BARQUINO (Alvarazado+Mulatto woman); COYOTE (Barquino+Mulatto woman); CHAMIZO (Coyote+Mulatto); COYOTE-MESTIZO (CHAMIZO+Mestizo woman) AHI-TE-ETAS or "There-thou-art" (Coyote-Mestizo+Mulatto woman). (From Adnison Burbank, "Mexican Frieze," New York 1940, p. 21). However, the common name for all with a dash of

Spanish blood is MESTIZO, i.e., Mixed (=French METIS), and among the Amerindian peoples in Mexico, the word LADINO is also employed. In English, following Spanish we have the words HALF-CASTE, QUADROON (with one-fourth of a particular racial element, after inter-marriage in the second generation between a half-caste and a pure-blooded person of either race), then OCTROON (with one-eighth blood, so to say, of one of the component races, when the individual is the offspring of a Quadroon and a pure-blooded person); and after an Octroon, the next generation virtually merges into the basic race.

In the Aryan society, the wife had the right of performing religious sacrifices with her husband; she was his SAHADHARMIṆĪ, his peer and helpmate in sacred tasks. She could recite the Vedas. This was quite in order, so long as she was of the same Aryan race. Later on, when women of non-Aryan origin and of mixed origin came to be taken to wife by Brahmans and others of pure Aryan blood, this right was then taken away from women. In later Dharma-sastra prescriptions, we find that women in general as well as Śudras were not to utter the mystic syllable OM, and were not allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. They could however, as a matter of right, perform the PUJA ceremonial excepting that of Vishnu through the ŚĀLAGRAMA stone. Even when non-Aryan women came to have a place in the Aryan social structure, they were thus debarred by orthodox opinion from the privileges of the Aryans; and their Aryan sisters also shared their disability.

The Aryan including the Brahman, was losing, as the result of the climate, of altered ways of life and of miscegenation, his fair complexion. The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad knows Aryans or Aryan-speakers, who were white (ŚUKLA), brown or tawny (KAPILA) and dark or black (SYĀMA) and who studied the Vedas, and the last was the cleverest of the three, knowing all the three Vedas, while the others know only one or two. Although mixed unions were held in theoretical disfavour, under the lead of the priestly classes, no stigma was attached to them in practical life. In fact, inter-caste marriages, particularly after the formation of the mixed castes, were very common within the same economic or social group throughout Hindu history, right down to pre-British times. The SANĀTANA or "eternal" immutable nature of caste in Hindudom became an object of historic

faith among Hindu INTELLIGENTSIA, only during the last few hundred years.

Ṣatyavatī or Matsya-gandhā, the mother of Vyāsa (who may be described as the official founder of Hinduism by compiling its scriptures, the Vedas and the primitive Puranas) was a Dāsa woman, although this was attempted to be explained away in the Mahabharata itself by bringing in the wild story of Satyavati having been really the daughter of Vasu Uparicara, born within the womb of a fish. Krishna Vāsudeva of the Vrishṇi sect of the Yadu clan was a younger contemporary of Vyasa, and he was himself a dark complexioned half-caste, his mother Devaki being a princess of an Asura or non-Aryan house and his father Vasudeva was an Aryan Kshatriya. It was Krishna who, among other things, helped to form a synthesis of the Aryan and non-Aryan thought-worlds, religion and ritualism. (Following F. E. Pargiter, Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri and L. 'D. Barnett, who based their datation respectively on Purana traditions, on genealogical data in the Brāhmaṇa texts and on Jaina tradition exclusively, I accept the middle of the 10th century B.C., during the late Vedic age, as the time for the Kurukshetra battle forming the historical kernal of the Mahabharata epic, and consequently as the period for the FLORUIT of Vyasa and Krishna).

It has also been suggested that Buddha himself, like most of the Gorkhas and other present-day peoples of Nepal, was of mixed Aryan-Mongoloid, or it may be Aryanised Mongoloid origin. Certain social usages among the branch of the Śakya clan, to which Buddha belonged, would suggest non-Aryan (Kirata) origins, affinities or connexions.

The process of Aryanising non-Aryan ruling houses by the extension of Kshatriya-hood upon them by the Brahmans as the leaders of society, has been an age-old device in India, which enabled not only the militarily and cul urally advanced artistocracy of non-Aryan origin, but also powerful foreign groups like the Greeks, the Śakas and other Iranians and the Huns settled in India, to be absorbed within the fold of the Hindu society. This has been noted by other scholars before. We have the ancient Indian solar and lunar dynasties — the Children of the Sun and the Children of the Moon (SŪRYA-VAMŚA and CHANDRA-VAMŚA). It is exceedingly likely that here basically we have a

pre-Aryan, possibly Dravidian notion, which became a part of the inherited and re-edited Purana tradition that developed among the Aryan-speaking people of mixed origin during the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. Later, when some powerful Hinduised artistocracies of Turki and Iranian origin were to be absorbed during the second half of the first millennium A.D., we have the new Kshatriya clans of the Children of the Fire (Agni-kula). The Aboms, a Thai or Sino-Siamese people who came to Assam in 1228 and gradually extended their power over the Hinduised Tibeto-Burhman Bodos of the Brahmaputra valley, were adopted within the Brahmanical fold, and their rulers were described as the Children of Indra (INDRA-VAMŚA) The Bodo royal house of Dimapur and Kachar were made into descendents of Bhima, the Pandava hero, through his Rakshasi or non-Aryan wife Hidimba; and the Meithei kings and upper classes of Manipur, as well as the Bodo (Tipra) rulers of Tripura, at some unknown mediaeval period, obtained the status of CANDRA-VAMŚA Kshatriyas. Even the native priesthood of the non-Aryan tribes, on their Hinduisation came to acquire the sobriquet of VARṆA-BRĀHMAṆAS, i.e. Brahmans attached to the particular Hindu caste into which the tribe was transformed. The exaltation of the general Brahmans as proper Brahmans was a matter of course.

It was not that there was an absolute wholesale or all embracing miscegenation. Doubtless a great many Aryan groups jealously guarded their purity of blood and they have succeeded through the endogamous caste system in preserving in many cases some sort of racial purity. But once the terms ARYA and BRAHMANA modified their old racial connotation, and became words indicative of an aristocracy of moral or intellectual superiority without the old sense of racialism, such as we find in the Rig-Vedic terms ĀRYA VARṆA and DĀSA VARṆA, admission as Brahmans and kshatriyas of the intellectual and artistocratic classes of mixed groups and of pure non-Aryans was facilitated, and objection to their union with pure-blooded Aryans within the same area, when the economic and cultural background was the same, became weaker and weaker.

The new Aryan-speaking society could no longer remain compartmental, vertically or horizontally or in both ways. With a wide gamut or range of colours in the people, ranging from the

white of Aryan blood to the black colour of the pure Nishāda, or the yellow of the pure Kirāta, like the merging colours in the solar prism, passing on imperceptibly from violet through indigo, blue, green, yellow and orange to rend, APARTHEID was not possible in practical life, howsoever the theory might have appealed to the Aryanising snobdom which was exalted in certain groups to an orthodoxy of faith. We find almost an identical situation in Mestizo Mexico. From the pure Spanish descendents of the conquerors and subsequent settlers who are known as Creols (los Criollos), which continued to be reinforced by fresh arrivals from Spain (latterly known as the GACHUPINES), during the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule (1521-1820), we have, through different shadings of white and yellow and brown resulting from all kinds and degrees of intermixture, the brown or yellow Amerindian masses at the other end of the scale, the pure 'Indians' (LOS INDIOS). An ever-expanding mixed group is perpetually encroaching upon the purity of the pure whites at the top and the yellow or brown 'Indians' at the bottom. Already the mixed group, with Spanish as their language, forms nearly 60 p.c. of the people of Mexico, with some 30 p.c. pure Amerindians and less than 10 p.c. pure whites. Ultimately the purer groups will be absorbed into the Mextizos, leaving a single type of man, generally speaking, master of the field — the Modern Mexican Man who is already in the predominance. In 1805, the pure Spanish or white element in Mexico's population was estimated at 18 p.c. Mestizos, at 30 p.c. in 1910, the percentages were respectively, 7.5, 53 and 39. These figures disclose how the pure Amerindian element and pure white are both merging into the Mestizo.

VARṆA or skin-colour—white or yelllow or brown or black—was the basis of the division of the diverse types of humanity in the first period when Arya and Dāsa, Kirāta and Nishāda, stood face to face with each other. Later, it became unmeaning with the invasion of the coloured elements into Aryandom, although tradition harking back to these very early times is still suspicious in present-day India of a black Brahman and fair Śudra. The skin-colour became irrelevant with racial mixture, and there was a new theory of caste in which the original realistic notion of the Vedic Aryan was lost; and it was only birth within a recognised profession or industry or trade group, within a guild, so to say,

that formed the essential argument for caste. The economic aspect rose superior to the racial, the social to the biological. Caste has been supported or tolerated by the Indian people as it generally helped the stability of their economic existence, all racial implications being lost.

Caste began to erystallise and become rigid with the establishment of a Muslim state by the Turks, and then by the adoption of the Turki-Muslim traditions by the Indian Muslims either of pure Indian or mixed Indian origin (respectively through conversion and miscegenation). The Hindu States were destroyed and the Hindu social order under Brahman domination lost its natural patrons in the Hindu artistocray. Yet Hindu culture was too strongly ingrained in the people to permit their being swept away by the flood of Muslim aggression. With its inherent force of intertia and its spirit of bowing before the storm, and with the innate spirit of harmony among the various castes each with its recognised place, its rights and duties within the Hindu society which was evolved as the direct result of the Indian synthesis under the leadership of the Brahman, the Hindu body-politic resisted the threatened distintegration of itself through this Muslim impact by its method of a general non-co-operation. This non-co-operation was of a passive sort, and it meant having nothing to do socially with that unappreciative and unsympathetic foreign ruler, the Turki Muslim, and sometimes his client the RENONCANT Indian Muslim, and each caste unit in Hindu society offered opposition in a piecemeal fashion by stiffening itself up in self-defence and by becoming more rigid within itself. *This stiffening up and rigidity, and this non-co-operation*, became a force not only against the foreigner, but also VIS-A VIS *the other groups or castes within its own* world. With the passing of centuries this rigidity grew stronger and stronger; and during the last two centuries, certain other new factors came in — which strengthened the present-day caste ideology which would regard miscegenation to be pernicious and reprehensible in a divinely ordained social order — the VARNASHRAAMA DHARMA — which existed from the beginning of the golden age. The new factors which were operative in this direction were the growth of individualism in the place of collectivism; the tendency to a new type of economic exploitation; a new sense of aloofness taking its root from imperfect or incomplete

miscegenation fortified by the imported European "Aryanism"; and a revival of orthodox notions and attendant snobbery with fantastic or extravagant ideas of personal purity and caste pride, the exaggerations which would be patent in any sensible society.

Ancient Indians have been reproached with the absence of the historical sense. They had certainly a conception of life as a static thing, not as a process of dynamic or historical development. The racial and national aspect can never be dissociated from the history of the political vicissitudes of any people, and if in ancient India the writing of the history of a particular people, as a distinct element of the population, had developed, then the tendency towards the fusion and harmonisation of the diverse peoples, not on a basis of a separatist political consciousness, but on an appreciation of the universal human values, would not have characterised the Indian Synthesis. Thus the Muslim historians of India in general are conscious only of a two-fold division of the people of India, by religion—Muslims and Hindus and this religious cleavage was always perpetuated, without any attempt at bringing them together as members of the same people. In the earliest Indian literature we have just echoes of an Arya VERSUS Dāsa (for Sudra or Naga or Nishada) complex, on a racial or colour basis. But the racial aspect of it grew dimmer and dimmer as the inevitable result of a mutual assimilation, and these tribal names were translated into the region of mythology. The intransigence of racialism was totally lost, and a crude pride of birth through race gave place to a sense of humility through philosophy when the idea of SAMSARA as an eternal moral law determining a man's place in life came to be universally accepted. After the strands of diverse racial origins have been inextricably woven into the finished stuff of a composite Indian society, it is now at least 2500 years too late to try to revive them once again now, as an engineered upstart eg. of a suppressed Adi Dravida or primitive Dravidian in the extreme south of India against the so-called Aryan from the north. It would be as futile as to try to separate the Saxon from the Norman or the Celt from the German or the basic Iberian from the Indo-European in the composition of the present-day British people.

There is no caste in SANNYĀSA or the path of renunciation — in Indian monasticism, so to say. This is another expression of the racial synthesis in Indian ideology. The Upanishadic

JNANA or knowledge, and later the post-Vedic mysticism of love and faith — BHAKTI, both moving with the self-discipline of Yoga or path for union with the Ultimate Reality, JNĀNA and BHAKTI as the philosophical and emotional obverse and reverse of the quest for God, both transcended racial implications.

Racial and Cultural Fusion, profound or on the surface, sublimated by a broad spirit of Synthesis through Philosophy which transcended or modified, although it could not wholly eradicate, the memory of race and colour (the weaknesses and prejudices of human nature being what they are), thus has given the basic character or tone to Indian Civilisation. As Rabindranath Tagore, with his poet's vision colouring the scholar's reading of the predominant trait of his people's history and culture, has expressed in his great poem in Bengali, the BAĀRATATIRTHA—

HETHĀY ĀRYYA, HETHĀ, ANĀRYYA, HETHĀY ḌRĀ-VIḌA' CIN,
ŚAKA HŪNA-DAL, PAṬHĀN-MOGAL, EK DEHE ḤA 'LA LĪN :

"Here the Aryan, here the Non-Aryan, here the Dravidian and the Chinese (the Mongoloids), the tribes of the Scythians and the Huns, the Afghans and the Moguls, have all merged into the body".

II. LINGUISTIC INTERATION AND THE EVOLUTION OF AN "INDIAN CHARACTER" IN THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

At the present moment, as has been mentioned before, we see four distinct speech-families, represented in India, languages belonging to which have all evolved or developed on the soil of India for the last 3000 years and more. These are (i) Indo-European (ii) Dravidian, (iii) Austric, and (iv) Sino-Tibetan. The Language of the first inhabitants of Indian, the Negroids, has not survived on the soil of India — it is found in the Andamans, and it is not fully known. There is no possibility of finding out if elements from the speech of the Negroids has, in any way, survived in the speeches of the later peoples who came to India. I have suggested that among a possible small vocabulary from the Negroid speech which may have been continued in Indian languages, we may reckon the Bengali word for the "bat", BADUD

which is based on a form like wat, wad etc. (with the plenastic affix-UD from early Bengali -A-DI-BADUD BAD-A-DI), found in Andamanese and the dialects of Austro-Asiatic current among the Negroid Semang and the Austric Sakai in Malaya.

THE AUSTRIC LANGUAGES as we have seen, fall into two groups — (i) Austro-Asiatic, and (ii) Austronesian. The Austric languages of India, which come under (i), are distinct in their structure from Dravidian: they are prefix, suffix and infix adding languages, and have an elaborate process of word-formation. Austric-speaking tribes had in pre-historic times spread throughout India, and in the great river-valleys of North India they appear to have been transformed into the present-day Aryan-speaking masses of Indians, both Hindu and Muslim, with admixture with other ethnic groups, the Mongoloids and the Dravidians and the Aryans. Some Austric speakers in India, who continued to live from very ancient times in a primitive state in the hills and forests of Central and Eastern India, or who had retired there through pressure of the latter peoples, live in their descendents as the various Kol peoples, Santals and others, as mentioned above, still retaining their language. Others in the sub-Himalayan tracts were absorbed at the later Mongoloid settlers, but the language of the Austro-Asiatic Kols has modified that of the new-comers, giving rise to what are known as "Pronominalised Tibeto-Burman Speeches", of the sub-Himalayan areas in Nepal and to its west. In Assam, the Khasis appear to be a Tibeto-Burman people who have accepted an Austric language.

In the development of the Aryan language in India Austric (Kol or Munda, and Mon-Khmer) languages have exerted a considerable influence, particularly in vocabulary and idiom. The study of mutual Aryan and Austric influencing in language has become an important branch of Indian linguistics, with repercussions on the history of the development of culture in India. The French orientalist Jean Przyluski made valuable investigations into the question of An Austric substratum in Indo-Aryan, and he has shown how a number of common words in Sanskrit like KĀRPĀSA, TĀMBULA, KADALĪ, KAMBULA, BAṆA, LĀNGALA, LAKUTA etc. etc. are of Austric origin. Others have followed Przyluski along the line of research virtually opened up by him, and a notable work in this field is F.B.J. Kuiper's "proto-

Munda Words in Sanskrit" (Amsterdam, 1948. pp. 178; the author gives an additional seventy words from Sanskrit, as being Austric in origin).

In the evolution of at least two modern Indo-Aryan sister-speeches in Bihar, the Maithili and the Magadhi, there has been a very likely influence of the Austric (Kol) languages, which evidently were suppressed by the Aryan Magadhi Prakrit and Apabhramsas, in the peculiar device of pronoun-incorporation in the verb, which is so foreign to the nature of both Aryan and Dravidian.

In the matter of a richness in onomatopoetic jingles and expressions which Indo-Aryan is found to develop gradually in the course of its evolution (such onomatopoetic terms are too few in Sanskrit, but they are on the increase in the Prakrits, and still more so in the New Indo-Aryan languages), and in that of doubling of words, full or partial, for various purposes, noted partly in Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali and the Prakrits) and very largely in New Indo-Aryan, we are certainly to see a Kol or Austric substratum in Indo-Aryan; and this substratum is very vital, too, for New Indo-Aryan.

The Sino-Tibetan languages and dialects present in their number the largest groups of speeches in India, but from the point of view of the numerical strength of the peoples speaking them, their cultural significance as well as the extent of their terrain, they are the least important. But of course they have their great value in the historical and comparative study of the great languages of the family, like Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese and Siamese. These Sino-Tibetan speeches current among the Kirātas, or Indian Mongoloid tribes, are now confined to Assam, and East and North Bengal, and the south Himalayan slopes from Bhutan to Punjab, including of course Nepal. But in early times there is evidence that the Kirata peoples had penetrated into Central India and Sindh also, though numerically they were not so strong in the plains of Northern India and the hills and jungles of Central India.

Kirāta peoples in India are certainly as old as, if not older than, the Vedic Aryans; we find them already mentioned in the Yajur and Atharva Vedas. (Their antecedents and their participation in the development of Indian history and culture I have

discussed in my "KIRĀTA-JANA-KRTI : the Indo Mongoloids and their Contribution to the History and Culture of India", Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1951, pp. 94). They could not exert such a widespread influence in the development of Indian culture, and their contribution to the formation of the Indian people was restricted by their geographical position or the lands which they occupied. Kirata predominance is the most note worthy thing in the people and culture of the greater part of Himalayan India, of Assam, and of East and North Bengal and North Bihar.

The subject of the modification of the Aryan speech by the Kirata dialects has not been taken up properly, but it is very likely that a respectable Kirāta vocabulary exists in Indian-Aryan place-names, and ordinary words, and there are Kirata influences in some present-day Aryan speech— habits also. The toponomy of Eastern and Himalayan India is largely Sino-Tibetan in origin. Assamese and Nepali (Parbatiya, or Khaskura) show Tibeto-Burman elements in their vocabulary. The habit of using too frequently the verbal conjunctive participle may very well be due to Sino-Tibetan influence on Indo-Aryan, although a similar syntactical character is found in Dravidian. The dental pronunciation of c, j. ch, jh, as ts, dz, s, z, etc. in the Himalayan Aryan speeches, in East Bengali and in Assamese, also is, in all likelihood, the result of the influence of a Sino-Tibetan substratum; and the substitution of the dentals and the cerebrals by alveolar stops and aspirates in Assamese add in a number of other Aryan speeches in the Himalayan regions can also be connected with Tibeto-Burman.

We now come to *the Dravidian speech family is India, and its inter action with Indo-Aryan.* Anthropological, ethnological and cultural as well as religious considerations have all suggested that the proto- ravidians of India were an Asianic and East Mediterranean people. We may regard the pre-Aryan builders of the Sindh and Punjab culture as being of Dravidian speeeh. The proximity of the Dravidian-speaking Brahuids to Sindh and Punjab lends some support to the view that Dravidian was the speech of the entire North-West, when the Aryans first entered India round about 1500 B. C.

There are also unsolved problems in connexion with the etymology of quite a number of Indo-Aryan words and locutions

which may be connected with substrata of other lost pre-Aryan origin. But in the broad lines of the *development* of Indo-Aryan in the course of over two millenia, we see a tremendous influence of Dravidian, and partly of Austric (Kol). The nature of this influence is not superficial or just literary, but it is that of a substratum, profound and at the same time wide in scope. There has been through some 3,000 years a gradual approximation of the Aryan speech towards the Dravidian, in its system of sounds, in its trend in morphology, in vocabulary, and above all, in its syntax or order of words.

The original character of the Indo-European language has been very largely preserved in Vedic Sanskrit, in Avestan and Old Persian, and in Homeric Greek; and some aspects of it can also be deduced from the other forms of Old Indo-European, like Latin and the Italian speeches, Old Irish, Gothic and other Old Germanic, Old Armenian, Baltic and Old Church Slav, as well as *from Tokharian; and Nesian Hittite* of Asia Minor has thrown unexpected light into the character of pre-historic Indo-European. Yet already in Vedic there are plentiful evidences of Indian non-Aryan influences, particularly in phonetics and in vocabulary: influences in syntax and morphology are as yet not so clear.

In Phonetics, the paucity of vowels in Vedic and Old Iranian (Indo-European a, e, o being all reduced to a) as contrasted with Greek, is a noteworthy thing. The Dravidian vowel system is also very simple: it has five simple vowels a i u e o, both long and short (e o, of course, originated in Indo-Aryan at a later post-Vedic stage from earlier ai au. and in Middle Indo-Aryan short e o also developed). The quantity of vowels in Indo-Aryan, originally based on individual etymology, now became subservient to speech-rhythm. New way of emphasis e.g. by consonantal doubling also came in.

The Indo-European aspirated stops, voiced and unvoiced, were retained in Vedic. It is quite conceivable, as Jules Bloch thought, that Primitive Dravidian possessed aspirated stops; and some at least of the modern Kol speeches like Santali also show aspirates. Consequently, their retention in Indo-Aryan was helped by the non-Aryan background. In India, whatever spirant sounds the Aryan language, the immediate source of Vedic, possessed,

were virtually all lost excepting for three unvoiced sibilants ś ṣ s, and the voiced aspirate ḥ.

The most important change in the phonetic system of Indo-Aryan was its adoption of the retroflex or cerebral sounds, ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ ḷ ṣ, beside the tongue-tip dentals t th d ... dh (n l s). Indo-European and Aryan did not have these, although the Scandinavian languages, Swedish and Norwegian, have developed them independently from earlies r+t, r+d, r+n in recent years. The Aryan speech in India may have similarly developed them independently. But the retroflex sounds are so very characteristic of the Dravidian languages that their admission and establishment in Indo-Aryan in the first instance might have been due to Dravidian speakers accepting the Aryan language. As the centuries pass, the retroflex pronuciation either through the influence of r (and l), or spontaneously, is on the increase. These retroflex sounds are a point of remarkable agreement among the languages of the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric (Kol) families in India: it is not known whether Austric had them independently, or took them up from Dravidian equally with Indo-Aryan. The distinction between the pure dentals and the retroflex sounds is a very prominent thing in the sound-system of the Indian languages — only the Sino-Tibetan languages do not have this distinction; they have a single set of alveolar sounds in place of the two sets of pure dentals and cerebrals.

Jules Bloch in a significant paper (English translation in the INDIAN ANTIQUARY, 1919, pp. 191 ff.) suggested that Indo-Aryan and Dravidian showed a somewhat parallel phonological history, with consonant clusters both initially and medially, but initially these were simplified, and medidally they were assimilated (e.g. dr- pr- became d- p-, -rk- -tr- became -kk- -tt-, both in Indo-Aryan Prakrit and in Old Dravidian languages as these developed out of their more ancient forms). Approximation to Dravidian tendencies or habits in sound-change may have been induced in Indo-Aryan by Dravidian. The wide-spread habit of anaptyxis (SVARA-BHAKTI or VI PRA-KARSA) in the treatment of Sanskrit loan-words in Prakrits presents a parallel to what we see in the cultivated Dravidian languages also.

In certain other matters relating to Morphology, Syntax and Vocabulary, vedic Sanskrit stands apart from Classical Sanskrit,

from Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit),' and from New Indo-Aryan. The last three show a community of spirit which is not shared by Vedic. In Morphology, a matter of capital importance is the loss of the Old Indo-European *prepositions* in Indo-Aryan. In Vedic they still have their separate existence retaining a good deal of their old function in governing nouns put in various cases (as much as in Greek, Latin, Gothic Old Slav, etc.); the prepositions are movable, and have not yet become wholly *preverbials* (*upasargas*) glued to verb roots. The total loss took place of these prepositions when their original force was gone, and they became preverbials in Classical Sanskrit, and in Middle Indo-Aryan; the prepositions becoming preverbials only survive in mutilated forms as integral parts of some verb roots in New Indo-Aryan, e.g. PRA in PRA-VIŚ New Indo-Aryan PAIS, ā in Ā-VIŚ New Indo-Aryan ĀIS, UPA-VIŚ > BAIS, UPA-VIṢTA > BAITH, UT-PĀTAYATI > UPĀḌE, UT-TARATI> UTARE, UD-ETI> UE, NIR-VĀ>NIBĀ, PARI-ĪKṢ>PARAKH, SAM-ARP SAUMP, SAMP, VI+KRI > BIK, ABHI-AÑJ > BHIJ; etc., etc. In place of the prepositions, for a time the case-inflexions suffered to indicate the various case-relations but as these began to change phonetically, a new device was taken recourse to. In this matter, the habits of both Dravidian and Austric (Kol) and also of Sino-Tibetan invaded Aryan. These languages indicate case-relations by means of HELP-WORDS which are joined to the noun and pronounced at the end. These help-words, as they became established in Middle Indo-Aryan and in Classical Sanskrit, became through phonetic decay the INFLEXIONS and POST-POSITIONS of New Indo-Aryan. Some verb-forms and full nouns are also found as post-positions in New Indo-Aryan. The Aryan language in this matter has completely been transformed according to the spirit of Dravidian.

In most of the New Indo-Aryan languages we note, as in Dravidian, the absence of the affix for the dative-accusative case for neuter or inanimate nouns.

The use of the genitive case for the adjective is another Dravidian aspect in syntactical extension of the declension of the nown. The Indo-European speech indicated a comparison of the adjective by affixation : e.g. ĪYAS, IṢTHA; -TARA, — TAMA in Sanskrit. This habit is still preserved in English, e.g. WISER, WISEST, from WISE, and in Persian, BIH-TAR, BIH-TARIN,

from BIH "good". But New Indo-Aryan has completely abandoned this practice and follows Dravidian (and Austric Kol) in having a new syntactical device with the ordinary (and the only) form of the adjective standing for both the comparative and superlative. This device is already been in Pali, which would show that the Dravidian and Austric leaven is operative in pre-Christian times in this direction.

In the case of the Verb, too, there were far-reaching changes. An almost wholesale disuse of moods and tenses reducing the verb-system of Aryan to an indicative present form (and in some cases an indicative future), a past participle giving the basis for the past tense, a present participle supplying similarly the basis for some other tenses, a conjunctive or absolutive, some verbal nouns, and a passive indicative present, characterised the development of the Indo-Aryan verb. The whole principle of phrase building tended to become nominal or adjectival from verbal; in place of Old Indo-Aryan inflected forms like SA AGAMAT, SA AGACCHAT or SA JAGĀMA, Classical Sanskrit as well as Middle Indo-Aryan preferred a participial expression like SA GATAH, Prakrit SO GATO, or GADO or GAO, whence we have New Indo-Aryan (Braj-Bhakha) SO GAYAU, Bengali SE GELA (Where the participle form has been reinforced by an L-affix). Herein there is a very likely influence of Dravidian, for in Dravidian, the verb has an adjectival force, being, really a noun of agency with reference to the subject. The Dravidian tenses developed out of participles; and in the development of Aryan we find a gradually increasing employment of the participle forms to the exclusion of the Indo-European finite verbal forms. The periphrastic future of Sanskrit KARTA = "a doer" to mean, "he will do", KARTA+ASMI=KARTĀSMI="I am a doer", to mean "I shall do", is Dravidian in principle. The structure of the past and future verb in modern Magadhan languages (Bengali Oriya, Maithili, Bhojpuri, etc.), in showing the root + past or future base derived from the participle affix + personal pronominal affix, affords a remarkable parallel to Dravidian. The importance attached to the conjunctive with the sense of "having performed or finished an act", and its lavish use, are common to both Dravidian and New Indo-Aryan, and is undoubtedly an idiom borrowed by Aryan from Dravidian, very early in the history of Aryan, with possible influence from Sino-Tibetan.

The inflected passive of Qld Indo-Aryan is lost to or considerably restricted in New Indo-Aryan, which, like Dravidian, forms passives by means of compound verb constructions, in which the roots meaning "to go, to fall, to suffer, to eat", etc. function as passive-forming auxiliaries. Herein the idiom is probably Dravidian.

With the want of prepositions (or preverbials) to modify meanings of verb roots, both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian have developed the use, in a most curious and idiomatice way, of conjunctives and participles with an adverbial function, giving rise to what is known as the "Compound Verb". Thus, in Sanskrit we have NI-, preverbial, + root SAD = English "sit down", but Bengali BASIYĀ PADA "sit down", beside BASĀ = "to sit"; so Hindi *baith jānā* beside BAITHNĀ. In Dravidian languages, like the Indo-Aryan modifying roots, certain roots like Tamil KOḶḶU "to take", VARU "to come", VIDU "to live", PŌ "to go", URU "to come", AḌI "to strike", PAḌU "to suffer", Telugu KONU "to buy or take", VESENU "to throw", ICCU "to give", etc. are used. For example, Tamil CEYTUVIṬṬĀN = "has finished", Bengali KARIYA DIYĀCHE; Telugu VRĀSI VEYU = "to finish writing, to write off", Bengali LIKHIYĀ, PHELĀ, etc. This kind of adverbial or prepositional use of an auxiliary verb goes back to Middle Indo-Aryan; e.g. Pali SAMPĀDETVĀ ADAMSU = "completed", literary "having finished, gave", compare Bengali KARIYĀ DIYĀCHILA; PATITVĀ CATAM = "fell down", Bengali PAḌIYĀ GELA: MACCU ĀDĀYA GACCHATI = "death takes away", literally "having taken, goes", cf. Bengali LAIYĀ JĀY. Evidently, this novel device characterising also the Dravidian was becoming adopted in Indo-Aryan from pre-Christian times, as in Pali.

Another principle which we note in New Indo-Aryan is the employment of a root meaning "to do" a noun to express the simple idea of a verb root, e.g. Bengali JIJÑASĀ KARA = "to make a query", for the simple root PUCH "to ask". We have in Tamil MUTTAM KOḌUTTĀN = "gave a kiss" for "kissed", PĀVAÑ CEYDĀN' = "made a sin", for "sinned" Telugu PADU CESENU = "made a sin", for "sinned", Telugu PĀḌU CESENU = "waste-made", for "wasted", VRAYAMU CESINA = "expending having made" for "having spent". This has become a characteristic thing in modern Indian languages, Aryan or

Dravidian, so much so, that this principle of compounding a noun or adjective with the verb "*to do or make*' *has been taken over* from Hindustani in the formation of Basic English. Already in Pali we have this device, e.g. ĀHĀRAM KAROTI, KALAHAM KAROTI, SAÑNAM KAROTI, *etc. etc. and it is found in the* earlier phases of Modern Indo-Aryan and Dravidian also.

IN SYNTAX, which is regarded as being of greater importance as an inherited peculiarity than Phonetics or Morphology which is early acquired or modified, we find that Indian Dravidiandom and Aryandom are one. A sentence in a Dravidian language like Tamil or Kannada ordinarily becomes good Bengali or Hindi by substituting Bengali or Hindi equivalents for the Dravidian words and forms, without *modifying the word-order:* but the same thing is not possible in rendering a Persian or an English sentence into a New Indo-Aryan language. The most fundamental agreements are thus found between New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, and all this began from early Middle Indo-Aryan, as would be seen from a comparison of the syntax of Pali and the Prakrits with that of the modern Aryan languages. "THE SYNTACTIAL ARRANGEMENT OF TAMIL SENTENCE IS IN MANY RESPECTS SIMILAR TO THAT OF AN ORDINARY SANSKRIT SENTENCE. (Italics ours—Ed.) As a rule, first comes the subject with its attributes, second the object with its attributes, second the object with its enlargements, third the extension of the predicate, and lastly the verb. As in Classical Sanskrit, so in Tamil, there is the usual predominance of gerunds and the clauses formed by them, of the *relative participles which* take the place of relaive clauses, and of the ORATIO RECTA instead of the ORATIO OBLIQUA". The omission of the copula is preferred by both Indo-Aryan, generally, and Dravidian.

The most remarkable similarity in idioms is found in both. Thus we have the use of a conjunctive meaning "having said", in the sence of "as, because", recapitulating and introducing a conditional clause; employment of the infinitive for the polite imperative; use of the verb "to give" in forming the imperative or permissive mood; etc. In some of the above points there is also agreement with Sino-Tibetan; but on the whole, generally Indo-Aryan possesses common traits of syntactical expression with Dravidian rather than with languages of other families.

The use of Onomatopoetic Formations and of what are known as "Echo Words" form other great points of agreement between Aryan and Dravidian in India. Through these "Echo Words", the idea of "ET CETERA, and things similar to, or associated with that" is expressed; e.g. Bengali GHOḌĀ-ṬOḌA, Maithili GHORĀ-TORĀ Hindi GHODA-WḌĀ, Gujarati GHOḌO-BOḌO, Marathi GHOḌĀ-BIḌA, Sinhalese ASVAYA-BASVAYA = "horses etc., horses and other animals, horses and equipage"; of. Tamil KUDIRAI-GIDIRAI, Kannada KUDURE-GIDURE, Telugu GURRAMU-GIRRAMU.

Finally, we find that the Aryan speech has been borrawing words from the Dravidian, ever since the former made its advent into India. The study of the nature and extent of the Dravidian loan-words in Indo-Aryan now forms an important subject of Indian linguistics. A great many of the *desi* words in Sanskrit and Prakrit and Modern Indo-Aryan, of which counterparts are not found in other Indo-European languages, are very probably of Dravidian origin—in some cases, of course, they might be even pre-Dravidian and pre-Austric. R. Caldwell, H. Gundert, F. Kittel and T. Burrow and others have made notable contributions in appraising the Dravidian loan-element in Indo-Aryan. IT IS REMARKABLE HOW SIGNIFICANT A DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT WE HAVE IN THE INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES FROM VEDIC SANSKRIT ONWARDS; SOME OF THE COMMONEST WORDS OF INDO-ARYAN ARE FROM THIS SOURCE, SHOWING THE VERY DEEP AND INTIMATE INFLUENCE EXERTED BY DRAVIDIAN IN TRANSFORMING INDO-ARYAN. (Italics ours—Ed.).

ALL THIS WOULD INDICATE TO WHAT AN EXTENT THE ARYAN LANGUAGE HAS CHANGED ITS CHARACTER IN ITS NON-ARYAN (DRAVIDIAN, AUSTRIC AND SINO-TIBETAN) ENVIRONMENTS IN INDIA. THIS TYPE OF CHANGE, AS HAS BEEN SUGGESTED BEFORE, IS DUE PRIMARILY TO THE ARYAN LANGUAGE BEING ADOPTED BY LARGE NUMBERS OF ORIGINAL NON-ARYAN SPEAKERS, MODIFYING IT ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN SPEECH-HABITS, AND THEN BY SHEER WEIGHT OF NUMBERS SWAMPING, SO TO SAY, THE NATIVE SPEAKERS OF ARYAN, AND FORCING THEM, THROUGH INFLUENCE OF NEW ENVIRONMENT, TO ACCPET

THESE MODIFICATIONS AND INNOVATIONS. LITTLE BY LITTLE THE APPROXIMATION BECAME COMPLETE. (Italics ours-Ed.) The situation during the forgotten epochs of the linguistic absorption of non-Aryan speakers in Northern India was one which can be visualised through what we actually see in those areas of India where the non-Aryan languages as speeches of backward "Aboriginals" (ĀDI-BĀSIS) are slowly receding before the continuous and unabated pressure of Aryan: e.g. in the Kol-speaking areas of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, in the Tibeto-Burman tracts in Nepal, Bengal and Assam, and in the Kurku-speaking and Gondi and other aboriginal tracts in Madhya Pradesh. In the late Vedic period, there were just scattered islands of Aryan speech in the Punjab and Gangetic India, in a land of Dāsas, Dasyus and Śūdras, of Nishādas and Nāgas and of Kirātas. By the middle of the first millennium B. C· the tables were turned, and in the time of Buddha, the country from Gandhara to Magadha was mainly Aryan-speaking, with islands of Dāsa or Śudra (i.e. Dravidian) and Nishāda or Nāga (or Austric) speech in the country-side and beside the virgin forests of Northern India. We hear in the Pali JĀTAKA, for instance, of CANDĀLA villages in Northern India, where only the non-Aryan CANDĀLA speech, whatever it was, was spoken.

Evidently this was the the time when Aryan-speakers, of pure or mixed Aryan origin, understood, some of them at least, the local (native) languages: witness the case of Vidura warning Yudhishthira through PRADĀPA or "gibberish", i.e. some non-Aryan speech not understood by others, as we find in the Mahābhārata. The non-Aryan languages gradually died out in Northern India probably for these reasons: (i) the prestige of the Aryan speech as that of a HERRENVOLK which had established itself in the country, and to which the allegiance of the conquered peoples was a matter of course; (ii) absence of cohesion among the polyglot non-Aryans of Dravidian, Austric and Kirāta origin, living side by side, with the Aryan speech coming to the forefront as a very convenient LINGUA FRANCA; (iii) the spirit of LAISSEZ FAIRE and an evident policy of non-intervention with reference to the non-Aryan languages — nobody ever seems to have tried to put a stop to or restrict their use; and this policy of letting the non-Aryan speeches have their own way while ignoring them in all domains of serious study (there could

not be the question of setting up a single Austric or Dravidian dialect before others) was most effective; (iv) the liberal policy shown doubtless as a matter of convenience, by Brahmans and other custodians of the Aryan's language towards non-Aryan vocables and idioms, — the gradual and unrestricted entry, mostly by the back-door, of a large non-Aryan vocabulary first in Vedic and in the Prakrits and then in the Classical Sanskrit, took away the edge of opposition to Sanskrit and other forms of Aryan, if there was any such opposition at all; the gradual approximation of Sanskrit and Prakrits to the spirit of both Dravidian and Austric made the Aryan language easily acceptable to non-Aryan speakers; (v) the fact that Sanskrit and other Aryan became the vehicle of a great composite culture, all-inclusive in scope, that was being built up through the combined efforts of Arya, Dravida, Nishāda and Kirāta helped to maintain its supreme position in a new Indian population, of mixed origin, directed more or less by groups like the Brahmans boasting of a pure Aryan tradition; (vi) the early development of a literature in Sanskrit through the collection of Vedic Hymns and sacrificial texts, and through the redaction of masees of national legendary and semi-historical tales and traditions as in the Purāṇas, gave to Sanskrit an immense advantage over other languages. We do not know what literature the Sindh-Punjab "Proto-Indians" (as Hrozny calls them) — whether Dravidian-Speakers or not — had: probably what little literature the pre-Aryan peoples had was confined to an exclusive priestly class; and WITH THE FIRST WRITTING DOWN OF SANSKRIT IN A FORM OF PROTO-BRAHMI SCRIPT (DERIVED, AS IT WOULD SEEM, FROM THE LATEST LINEAR PHASE OF THE MOHEN-JO + DARO WRITING, PROBABLY SOMETIME IN THE 10TH CENTURY B.C.), INTELLIGENT MESTIZO THOUGHT-LEADERS LIKE VYĀSA STARTED TO GATHER WHATEVER WAS AVAILABLE OF THE EXTANT ORAL LITERATURE OF RELIGIOUS HYMNS AS WELL AS TALES AND LEGENDS AND GENEALOGIES, AND THIS QUICK ACTION GAVE A START TO THE ARYAN SPEECH WHICH ASSURED ITS FUTURE FOR EVER; (Italics ours — Ed.) (vii) it is exceedingly likely that there was no effective linguistic or cultural patriotism (if there was any at all) among the leaders of the various non-Aryan groups in Northern India: particularly when the Brahmans through their intelligence and prestige

were able to give a theory of society which ignored the racial and linguistic aspects and included the whole of Indian humanity within a single scheme. Finally, we have to consider (viii) the inherent beauty and force of the Aryan language, which was something which fulfilled the intellectural requirements of the Indian Man, satisfied his aesthetic sense, and at the same time was not foreign to his mental atmosphere if he still spoke or lived in the atmosphere of a non-Aryan tongue. As time passed, what was originally just "the language of poetry" (CHĀNDASA) and "the current language" (LAUKIKA) became a veritable "language of the Gods" (DEVA-BHĀṢĀ) with the general acceptance of the Brahman's world.

The Aryan speech spread in this way, and the entire country became Aryanised in language. The non-Aryan languages in the Northern Indian plains went to the wall. But while dying out, they left their undying impress upon Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan, particularly the New Indo-Aryan languages as they evolved out of Prakrit. It was Prakrit which largely supplanted the non-Aryan speeches. But "Greece captured her captor" THE ARYAN LANGUAGE WITH ITS Sprachgut of BASIC ELEMENTS INHERITED FROM INDO-EUROPEAN, BECAME REINFORCED BY NON-ARYAN WORDS AND ROOTS AND WAS RESHAPED ACCORDING TO THE THOUGHT — PROCESSES OF DRAVIDIAN AND OTHER NON-ARYAN. (Italics ours — Ed.) The waters from the original Aryan stream now found a new channel—the dried up one of the non-Aryan languages. And thus a composite people got a modified speech — the classical Aryan speech of ancient India, Sanskrit, and the spoken Prakrits of ancient and Mediaeval India, and the modern BHĀṢĀS — all falling in line with Dravidian and Austric, and to some extent with Sino-Tibetan as well.

III. ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS FUSION.

The economic background due to the geographical environment determines material culture. The Aryans, while living in the drier and colder lands of Iran and Northern Mesopotamia, were, as a people, partly nomadic (depending upon stock-raising and horse-breeding) and partly agricultural (doing some cultivation of barley by ploughing with oxen), and they had built up a

way of life which they had perforce to change profoundly in the country of India which in those days was much more wooded, even in Panjab and in Sindh, and much moister than Iran. Their food, dress and habitation, everything had to be altered according to the requirements of their new home and the new climate.

The food of the Aryans as of their kinsmen the Greeks of Hellas consisted mostly of meat (beef, mutton and goat-meat, and pork to some extent, possibly also horse-flesh, though the slaughter of the horse was later confined to a religious ritual of an exceptional type which evidently went back to a hoary antiquity in Aryandom), and barley (as roasted grain or meal or bread) and milk preparations of various kinds (including butter, ordinary or clarified, curds and some kind of cheese), and honey was a great delicacy with them. They partook freely of, and offered to their Gods as well, a kind of spirituous drink called SOMA (from Indo-Iranian "SAUMA whence also Iranian HAOMR) made from some plant which grew in the hills, which was pounded between two stones and mixed with milk. They had also another strong drink made from honey. Barley they knew in their primitive homeland to the south of the Ural mountains, and wheat they would appear to have found in Mesopotamia; and either in Eastern Iran or in India they found the rice, and various kinds of lentils, which quickly became popular with the Aryans in India, more than wheat. The typical Indian food at the present day is rice (or wheaten bread in the Punjab and in the Upper Ganges Valley, or some kind of inferior grain like the millet in the poorer-areas eaten with lentils of various sorts, seasoned with butter or oil and with spices, and with some milk product, if that can be afforded. In the coast lands and in the pre dominantly Mongoloid eastern tracts, however, the main diet consists of rice and fish. This kind of food, rice and DAL or lentils, came to be adopted by the Aryans too; and the old Aryan habit of eating meat regularly and plentifully, which we find discussed in the Mahābhārata, gradually became restricted or abandoned, through milk as well as vegetarian food being plentiful in the land and more suited to the warmer climate of India, and through ideas of non-injury to life (AHIMSĀ) which came to dominate the life of the mixed Indian people from after 1000 B.C. In the 4th century B.C., to which date the original redaction of the Arthaśastra of Kauṭalya can reasonably be taken

ARYA-BHAKTA or the food generally eaten by "an Aryan person of the middle class", consisted of a measure of rice, one fourth measure of SŪPA, i.e., prepared DAL, with ghee or oil of one fourth of the quantity of the SŪPA and salt measuring one-sixteenth of the portion of the DAL. For inferior (avara) persons, probably SŪDRAS and others, the food was of the same kind. So rice, DAL and ghee or oil formed the basic Indian food in the 4th century B.C. (ARTHA-ŚASTRA, II, XV, 61, 62, 63: it must however be noted that, as in Āśoka's inscriptions, SŪPA might mean some kind of meat-curry as well). It was also in the early centuries of the Muslim conquest, when Persian-using Iranian, Turki and Afghan invaders, accustomed to eating wheat bread with mutton at home, observed with wonder that Hindus "ate grain with grain" (GHALLA-RĀ BA-GHALLA MĪ-KHURDAND). The Dutchman F. Pelsaert (early 17th century) also noted that the food of the masses in India was rice and pulses with a lump of butter. Similarly, the basic food of pre-Columbian Mexico — flat cakes (like Indian CHAPATIS) made from maize dough, with a kind of beans or lentils (tortillas and FRIJOLES in Mexican Spanish) — still forms the staple food of the Amerindian and the Mestizo population of the country, bread and meat of course being covetable additions to the diet but never complete substitutes for the native alimentation.

The dress of the Vedic Aryans consisted of garments of wool, linen and skin, with some prominent kind of head-dress for men, and wimples for women, as well as sandals of leather, and the whole body was fully covered. The dress of Persian men and women in Achaemenian sculpture may reasonably be taken to be representative of the old Aryan dress. It is likely that coming as they did from a cold climate, some sewn garments at least were in use among the Aryans: the verbal root SĪV in Aryan indicates a knowledge of sewing. In India, although some very elaborate type of head-dress and ornaments (often made with cowrie shells) for both men and women are noticed in the art of pre-Christian times, the basic dress consisted of two (or three) pieces of unsewn cotton cloth, one being used as the loin-cloth, one as a covering for the upper body and the third as a turban for the head. Women's dress had only two pieces — one for the lower limbs from the waist to the ankle, more or less in the style of the Indonesian SARONG, and another as a covering for the upper part,

but the breasts were generally left exposed, as in Malabar untill recently and in the island of Bali, easternmost outpost of Hindu civilisation. This kind of dress also came to be adopted in Aryan society, only the wimple or veil was retained as a distinctive mark of a married woman among the upper classes of people.

The Vedic Aryan wore a beard and had long hair, and the hair for convenience was made into a knot at the top of the head. This is the old Brahman way, as we find in the representation of Brahmans in the most ancient classical art of India, as at Sanchi and Gandhara, and in the pictures of the *rishis* and Brahmans which we find in the Buddhist and Brahmanical art of Central Asia, China, Japan, Indo-China and Indonesia. The Buddhist and Jaina, indicating a reaction against the Aryanism of the Brahmans, enjoined complete shaving of the head and face, and this, with the addition of a top-finot, became latter on the accepted custom among Brahman householders also.

The Aryans, as in Vedic litera ure, lived in houses made wholly of wood, and building timber was quite easily obtainable in North India which was not as yet denuded of its forests. The style of architecture was influenced by that of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Later, stone and brick were substituted for wood. Pre-Aryan Indian architecture was in bricks in the cities of Punjab and Sindh, and the poorer people had frail dwellings of bamboo or wattle smeared with mud and thatched with grass or reeds or palm leaves. All that became the rule in India, with the exception of the cities where wooden architecture, particularly as facings for houses, balconies, etc. continued side by side with brick buildings and stone palaces. Use of stone for building purposes came into India rather late, from the 4th century B. C., and through persian influence too; and the first stone structures in India imitated in every way the earlier wooden architecture.

The house-hold furniture — pots, cups, receptacles and vessels, spoons and ladles, were at first mainly of wood among the Indian Aryans, as among their kinsmen like the Slavs, the Germans and Greeks of ancient times. Skins were also used for storing food and drink. The pre-Aryan people seem to have preferred earthenware and for temporary use earthenware became generally adopted in Aryan-speaking Indian society as well. Bronze and copper vessels were known to the Aryans, and these

also came to have a greater vogue in India when vessels of enduring character were required. In Vedic sacrifices the old custom of having vessels, cups, goblets, spoons, ladles, etc. of wood, and not of metal or terracotta, was continued as an antique practice and therefore sacrosanct.

Food and drink, dress, houses and furniture — all these of the local pre-Aryan Indian types had to be adopted by the Aryans, after they realised that they were staying in the country, and after miscegenation was well under way.

The Aryan system of computation was a decimal one, and the ten fingers of the two hands formed the basis of this computation. Two other systems were in vogue in pre-Aryan India, among the Austrics, whose highest number of computation was twenty, and among the Dravidians, who counted by eights. The Sino-Tibetans, however, seem to have had the decimal system like the Aryans. The Austric habit of counting by twenties has been preserved by village folk in North India, together with an original Kol word, Bengali KUDI, Hindi KODI "score", as it would appear. Computing by eights and divisibles or multiples of eight (four, sixteen, thirty-two, sixty-four) was adopted by the Aryans also; and as a combination, 10+8=18 became a favourite number in India.

There are too many big or little matters with regard to social usage and way of living and personal habits in which it would be found that it is the pre-Aryan manner which has triumphed. But all this might appear to be a little too speculative. I shall now pass on to certain fundamental things in religious beliefs and practices, and myths and legends where the Aryan-non-Aryan synthesis appears to be quite clear.

Indian tradition has all along admitted two strands in Indian religion, philosophy and ritual — the Vedic, and the non-Vedic traditions — the NIGAMA and the ĀGAMA, respectively, to give the Sanskrit names. The non-Vedic ĀGAMA tradition is "that which has come down" from the time immemorial; it embodies the special teaching of Śiva imparted to Umā, and the Tantric doctrines and ritual and Yoga ideas and practices come under it. The Āgama TRATION IS NON-ARYAN IN ORIGIN, AND IT IS EXCEEDINGLY LIKELY THAT IT IS VERY

LARGELY DRAVIDIAN, ALTHOUGH AUSTRIC AND SINO-TIBETAN ELEMENTS WERE IN COURSE OF TIME ENGRAFTED ON IT. (Italics ours — Ed.) The NIGAMA tradition is "that which has come inside", evidently as a later cultural imposition, like the Vedic fire ritual (HOMA), from outside. One would suspect that the names ĀGAMA and NIGAMA were first given by a supporter of the ĀGAMA or Tantric system who believed in this doctrine to be the one earlier for the people and the country. However, Vedic ritual and Vedic ideas formed the national heritage of the Aryan settlers, particularly the Aryan aristocrats; and the pre-Vedic, that is the pre-Aryan ritual and ideology were ignored, naturally enough, by the Vedic priests. But among the masses, specially the growing masses of Mestizos, the offspring of ANULOMA and PRATILOMA marriages, the older ideas and ritual can only be expected to persist, openly or surreptitiously, according to the predominance or power of the protagonists of Aryanism or Dravidianism.

To unite the Aryan and non-Aryan into one people, it was necessary that the NIGAMA should be combined with the ĀGAMA, that the thirty-three Vedic gods, forces of nature with a light amount of anthropomorphism or humanisation, should form members of the same Pantheon as the great non-Aryan divinities of a cosmic significance, who represented the stupendous physical as well as the subtle moral forces operating in the universe, and were at the same time very human in their personified conceptions. These divinities later became Śiva and Umā and Vishṇu and Śrī among others, in a combined Aryan-non-Aryan Brahmanical SUDHARMĀ or "Assembly of the Gods." It was necessary also that the Vedic ritual of the fire sacrifice, the HOMA, was to concede some place at least to the non-Aryan (both Dravidian and Austric) rituals of the flower offering and blood offering.

Homa or the FIRE RITUAL, and Pūjā or THE FLOWER RITUAL, REPRESENT TWO DISTIN T WORLDS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT OR CONCEPTION. THE FLOWER RITUAL OF THE Pūjā IS UNKNOWN TO THE VEDIC RELIGION: there THE RITUAL IS EVERYWHERE HOMA. (Italics ours—Ed.) The idea behind the HOMA is this. The Gods are 33 in number. They are in the sky. Agni or Fire is the messenger. The worshipper is not very keenly conscious of

any divine MANA or Force pervading the Universe; he knows only some individual gods and goddesses who are humanized forms of natural forces, like Fire, Wind, Sun, Dawn, Thunder, Rain, the Sky-Vault, Earth etc., who are potent in giving or withholding their bounty in the shape of riches (cattle, horses, flocks and harvest in plenty), sons, and Victory over enemies. They are approached in a spirit of friendly reliance; his attitude in worship is that of DO, UT DES (DADĀMI, UTA DADĀSI), "I give, so that you may give in return." He gives as offerings the food he himself eats—meat and fat of a sheep or goat or cow or horse which he kills, barley bread, milk and butter, and an intoxicant (the SOMA), which he burns in the fire kindled on an altar. The gods feel the savour of the burnt offering, and are pleased, and give in return what is prayed for: The idea is simple and very primitive. It is the old Indo-European ritual of worship. It was the ritual current among the extra-Indian kinsmen of the Indo-Aryans — the Iranians, the Slaves, the Hellenes, the Italians, the Celts and the Germans. The Germanic word for the Divinity, God (as in English) meant only the libation to be poured into the fire itself personified (Indo-European *GHUTOM = Sanskrit HUTA'M). Where they got this ritual from is not known. The Sumerians, and following them the Semites, had a similar ritual of burnt offerings, but not the Egyptians, nor again the Aegeans who simply made offerings of food before the images or symbols of the Gods, offerings which were placed on raised stands or altars. The Indo-Europeans knew no images or symbols.

The PŪJĀ ritual stands on quite a different footing. For the worshipper, the whole universe is filled with Cosmic Force or Divine Spirit, and the worshipper wants to have a personal communion or touch with it. For this purpose, he is taught that a magic rite calling the Divine Spirit is potent enough to make it (or a portion of it) come and be installed within some symbol prepared to represent it — an image, a pot, a pebble, a tree or a branch of a tree, a picture, a design. Called through this rite, the spirit comes into the symbol, and then it at once becomes a Living Presence for the worshipper endowed with faith; and it is after that treated as an honoured guest, like a king on a visit to a subject of his. Water is poured over the symbol; flowers, leaves and fruit, and grains of rice or other corn as produce of the earth

are offered to it; and cooked food, delicacies of all sorts, are placed before it and offered, to become conscrated food with special sanctity. Dress and ornaments and jewellery are used to bedeck the symbol, particularly if it is an image. The divinity present in the symbol is regaled with incense and with music and dance. Lights are waved before it during worship, in token of homage. When the divinity is worshipped under a terrible aspect, animals are sacrificed before it by decapitating (the Vedic or Aryan method of sacrifice was mostly by strangulation), and the blood of the victim is either placed before the image or symbol in a flat cup, or it is smeared over the image. Red sandal paste and vermillion were sometimes used, and these are doubtless substitutes for the red blood of the victim. Sandal paste as something cooling and fragrant is applied to the image or other symbol. Then, after this ritual, the worshipper is at liberty to come to a personal relationship with his god by prayer and appeal and meditation. The image or symbol may be made, according to the wishes of the worshipper, a permanent or a temporary abode of the divine spirit, so to say. When the latter idea is in view, another magical ritual may be performed, and the spirit releases itself from the symbol, which becomes forthwith a useless material object with no further spiritual or religious potency.

The ideas of HOMA and PŪJĀ, as it is apparent, had their birth in different MILIEUS. The mixed Hindu people, and the Brahmanical faith of mixed origin, inherited both. The HOMA was exclusively Aryan, to which non-Aryans had no right as it was the special privilege of the Aryan. But everybody was welcome to the PŪJĀ ritual. HOMA was a rite in which ordinarily animal sacrifice was a necessary part; it was known also as PAŚU-KARMA. In PŪJĀ, flowers are essential; it was, so to say, a PUṢPA-KARMA. Now, on this basis, the word PŪJĀ of Sanskrit has been explained by Mark Collins as a Dravidian word — PŪ meaning "flower", and the Dravidian root CEY, GEY meaning "to do" giving a compound form, in Primitive Dravidian of Vedic times, *PŪ-CEY = PUṢPA-KARMA "the flower ritual", whence Sanskrit PŪJĀ. (Jarl Charpentier suggested another derivation, from a Dravidian root PŪSU or PŪCU "to smear", anointing with sandal-paste or vermillion or blood being according to this view the basic element in the PŪJA rite.)

In the Mahābhārata itself, there are passages discussing worship with flowers, and the ritual there is supported as something which is beautiful and acceptable to the gods. In the BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ, Krishna is recommending the value of religious worship in realising God, and various modes of this worship are accepted there, and in verse 26, Chapter IX, the PŪJĀ ritual is specially mentioned as one which is equally acceptable to God with the Brahmanical or Aryan fire ritual, if it is offered in a spirit of sincerity. Here we have a virtual admission of a ritual which is essentially un-Vedic and non-Aryan.

The racial intermixture which had set in, loosened the foundations of the idea of a HERRENVOLK — the CONQUISTADOR spirit — which the Aryans had brought. Men of Aryan origin, pure or mixed, were already questioning the use of the elaborate Vedic sacrifices to the gods; nay, they were even questioning the very existence of the Vedic gods. According to the Purānic tradition, Krishna vāsudeva, while he has living among the (possible non-Aryan) cowhered people, refused to give honour to Indra, the Aryan god PRE EXCELLENCE, and lent his support to a cult of the Govardhana hill which was more in accordance with non-Aryan mentality.

In ancient Greece, the legends of the gods and heroes, which we find in early Greek literature were believed by Sir Arthur Evans and other scholars as being largely of pre-Hellenic Aegean origin. It was even suggested that the Iliad and Odyssey were renderings of a PreHellenic Mycenean epos into the Indo-European Greek language, after it became established in the land of Hellas. This view has been, to some extent at least, vindicated by the finding of a number of small artefacts giving plastic representations on gems of certain legends of ancient Greece,—e.g. that of the Return of Persephone, of Artemis the Huntress, and of Oedipus. A similar thing doubtless also happened in ancient India, as in many other countries. It is exceedingly likely that a great many legends of the Purāṇas, which seem to antedate the middle of the second millennium B.C., when the Aryans are believed to have first come into India, go back really to pre-Aryan antiquity. With the Aryanisation in language of the Dravidian and other peoples of pre-Aryan India, their legends also were retold in their new language.

Like Śiva (cf. Old Tamil CĪVAN', later ŚIVAN', which may be based on a Primitive Dravidian "KIWA-) who was identified with the Aryan Rudra and Vishnu whose attributes mainly came from a Dravidian Sky-god (cf. Tamil VIṆ "Sky"), other lesser gods of non-Aryan origin were adopted as a matter of course in the new Pantheon. One such god is Hanumān. As F.E. Pargiter suggested long ago, in 1913, Hanumān was probably a primeval Monkey-god of Dravidians dwelling by forests—the MALE MONKEY, whose Dravidian name (cf. Tamil ĀṆ-MANTI) was first translated into Vedic as VRṢĀ-KAPI, and then Sanskritised as HANUMANT-. From Rigveda X 86 we can see that there was at first opposition from some Aryans (represented by the goddess Indrāṇi) to the admission of this "native" god into the Aryan Pantheon, but this opposition was evidently over-ruled. (Other arguments will be found in my contribution to the "History and Culture of the Indian People: Vol. I, the Vedic Age," edited by R. C. Majumdar and D. Pusalker, London, 1951: pp. 141-168, Chapter VIII, (PRE-HISTORIC RACES AND RACE MOVEMENTS.)

SOME OF THE DEEPEST THINGS IN HINDU RELIGIOUS CULTURE, LIKE THE PRACTICE OF YOGA, CERTAINLY GO BACK TO THE PRE-ARYAN PERIOD. (Italics ours—Ed.) The remarkable find of the Mohenjo Darо amulet or seal depicting the prototype of YOGĪŚVARA, ŪRDHVA-LINGA (LAKULĪŚA), VIRŪPĀKṢA, PAŚUPATI Śiva, with all the attributes suggested by the Sanskrit words, and various other symbols and ritualistic poses of later Purāṇic Hinduism, is exceedingly important for tracting the history of Indian religion, back to pre-Aryan times, in some of its basic elements.

The Vedic as well as extra-Indian Indo-European notions about future life were very vague, and not at all highly philosophical. The Indo-Europeans believed that after death, a good man, i.e., a proper warrior, joined his ancestors, which was in the nether regions of the world, or in some special abode of the Gods, where they lived in perpetuity, more or less re-enacting their previous life on earth. In India this Vedic, eschatology was sublimated in other ways to a philosophical conception which is based on some of its elements at least on non-Aryan ideas. The belief in the transmigration of souls and in the moral law behind the conception of the SAMSĀRA originated on the soil of India in

the post-Vedic period through a comminling of the deeper notions regarding life and being and the future world which were current among the thinking sections not only of the Aryans but also of the Dravidians and the Austrics. The ideology behind the Vedic Hymn of Creation (Rigveda, X 129) may be Austric. The extra-ordinary elaboration of the sacrificial ritual in the BRĀHMAṆA period may also, in certain respects, be a reflex of pre-Aryan conceptions and usage in the matter of religious ceremonial.

All these things can be posed by an objective and a purely anthropological approach to the question of the racial background, cultural origins and social evolution in India. We know that in the history of religious evolution certain ideas come within human experience with the enlargement of man's vision and the unfoldment of his mental and spiritual powers. It was a far cry from primitive faith to the philosophical conceptions of a more enlightened age. A primitive religion which made a mere bargain with the unseen powers would take centuries to evolve ideas of JÑĀNA and BHAKTI, of KARMA and YOGA, and of the concepts of AHIMSĀ and MAITRI and KARUṆĀ in human relations. This development appears to have been rather quick in India, and a finished philosophy seems to have come into being and suffused the entire Indian Synthesis with its spirit during the great days of the period 1200 to 500 B.C., *in the later part of the Vedic age and the age of the Upanishads.* And this was the period *when the Indian Man with the great Synthesis of diverse races and cultures in his being came to be established, as one of the most remarkable phenomena in the evolution of Humanity.*

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT FROM A SAIVA STANDPOINT

V. A. DEVASENAPATHI

Contributors to the Felicitation Volume to be presented to Father Emilo Ugarte, S. J. have been asked to write about the vital role of philosophical activity in regard to the integral development of man and woman, both as individuals and as members of human society. In choosing a particular area of Philosophy, wherever possible, they are to keep the Indian context in view. The present paper seeks to deal with the human development as advocated in *Śaiva Siddhānta.* In so far as *Śaiva Siddhānta* draws its inspiration from the *Vedas* and the *Ṣaiva Āgamas,* in addition to the Tamil works of *Śaiva Nāyanmārs* and *Saiva Ācāryas,* a good deal of common ground wlll be found with the other orthodox (*āstika*) systems. The first point to notice, therefore, is the acceptance of, or dependence on, the scriptures. If it is so, can there be free philosophical activity? The answer is that the hearing of the scriptural texts (*śruti*) is to be followed by their examination in terms of logical reasoning and understanding. One more step is called for. That is the assimilation of the truths heard and examined thus in one's own experience.

We find two patterns in Indian Philosophy. One is the *pūrva-pakṣa-siddhānta* pattern. Here, the views of other schools of Philosophy are set forth. Their inadequacy is shown in the light of one's own system, *Siddhānta.* Then the *Siddhānta* is set forth, incidentally meeting the objections of other schools. The second is the *praśna-uttara* pattern. Here the questions and doubts raised by a disciple are met and answered by the *guru* (preceptor). We often see how the preceptor, without forcing the pace of the student's development gradually and gently aids it.

We may also note the intellectual discipline called for in understanding scriptural texts. In general the laws and rules

given by the *Pūrva Mīmāṁsa* are accepted by all orthodox schools. Accepting the *Upaniṣads*, the *Brahma-sūtras* and the *Bhagavad Gītā* as ultimate scriptural authority, systems with very wide or with only slight though significant variations have been formulated. In studying them, one has to use one's own reasoning powers in agreeing or disagreeing with them. Thus it will be seen that even while accepting the authority of the scriptures, reasoning plays an important role in understanding them.

Though authentic texts are not available for *Materialism* known by the name of *Cārvāka or Lokāyāyata*, we notice its trends from the Vedic times. Its basic propositions are the following:

(1) What is given in sense-experience alone is real.

(2) Inference (or logical reasoning) is unacceptable, as there is no guarantee that we can proceed from the given to what is not given. We notice fire where there is smoke. We cannot universalise this and say that wherever there is smoke, there will be fire.

(3) God, soul (or souls), past and future lives, immortality—all these are fanciful speculation.

These propositions constitute a challenge to the orthodox systems. But even believers have to be careful and must not dismiss the challenge of Materialism. Quite apart from its philosophical status, one meets it occasionally in one's own moments of doubt and despair. For the most part, even believers live just like materialists! Again Classical Materialism may be out of date. But Marxist Materialism poses a powerful challenge which must be faced fairly and squarely. Believers must be alert to see that their own profession of love for all beings as children of God is matched by practice in promoting the all-round welfare of all beings.

Turning to Śaivism, we may briefly consider its philosophy in relation to practice. Śaivism recognises three categories as ultimate. These are *Pati* (*Paśupati* — Lord of the flock), *paśu* (souls—of all grades, human, super and sub-human) and *paśa* (bonds). Like cattle bound by ropes, souls are bound by a three-strand ropes. These three strands are *āṇava, karma* and *māya.* Śaivism advances arguments for accepting these

three categories. It must be noted, however, that while reasoning is used, it is reasoning as illumined by Divine Grace, that can really produce conviction. The arguments are persuasive and worth studying with care. Arguments for the existence of God (*Pati*) are similar to cosmological and moral arguments. The physical universe (Cosmos) is an effect and requires an intelligent cause to produce it. The moral universe requires a moral governor. As for souls, at least at the human level, the very denial of them implies its existence. To say, 'I do not exist' is a contradiction in terms. To say, 'I am not the body, I am not the mind, etc.,' presupposes an entity who makes these denials. As for *pāśa*, it consists of *āṇava, karma* and *māyā*. *Āṇava* is an impurity that is congenital, like the green matter in copper. It promotes a false sense of 'I' and 'mine'. Under its influence, souls consider themselves as agents and owners, blind to the fact that God is the real Agent — that we are only His tools; and likewise, that He is the real Owner of everything — that we owe everything to Him. *Karma* is deed in a most comprehensive sense. It stands for every thought, every word and every physical deed. Except the *Lokāyata*, all other systems associate *karma* with a cycle of births. *Karma* presupposes freedom. We are free to think, speak and act as we like. But once we have acted in a certain way, we are left with impressions or traces of these actions and tendencies to act on the same pattern. *Karma* is good or bad according as it promotes or thwarts the welfare of others. What we sow, we have to reap. It must be noted that far from leading to fatalism, the doctrine of *Karma* really alerts us as to *what* and how we should sow. It is designed for our moral and spiritual education. Let us see what the stages are: (1) we must act with a sense of responsibility, (2) we must engage in good *karma* and refrain from bad *karma*. (3) we must learn to do good, without longing for reward and refrain from evil, not merely from fear of punishment; (4) we must give the fruit of good deeds to others and take on ourselves the punishments for their bad deeds and above all (5) we must grow to make ourselves worthy instruments in the hands of God. As it happens, it takes not one birth but many births for souls to realise that we must make our life, not self-centred but God-centred. We are associated with a body, and we live in this world with its various objects of experience. The body, world and objects of experience are the products of *māyā*. *Māyā* for Śaivism, is primordial matter. The products of

māyā are not basically evil. But they become evil by reason of non-use and misuse.

Though *Karma* and *māyā* are classed with *āṇava* and considered as bonds (*pāśa*) fettering souls or as impurities (*mala*) they can really help souls to overcome bondage. This may seem paradoxical. But let us see how Śaivism clarifies the position. To take *māyā* first, souls are given bodies, objects of experience and a world in which to live — all as products of *māyā*. When souls are completely in the grip of *āṇava*, they are in total darkness, as it were. Their thinking willing and feeling faculities are non-operative. Given bodies with their sensory and mental equipment, these faculties start operating. This is like a lamp dispelling darkness to a limited extent. But *āṇava* operates now to distort the soul's sense of values by promoting a false sense of 'I' and 'mine', particularly a false sense of 'mine' in regard to the products of *māyā*. The soul claims everything (and indeed everyone) as means for its sensual enjoyment. It fails to recognise that its body with its equipment, the word, etc., must be used in worship and service. Non-use of our body, etc., in service is as reprehensible as misuse. The misuse and non-use of the body, etc., are brought out graphically in one Tamil work (The *Vairāgya Dīpam*) thus: "The body, impermanent in its very nature, is meant for appropriate spiritual practice and salvation. Instead, to adorn it for admiration is like looking at a borrowed tool in admiration, failing to use it promptly for the purpose for which it is borrowed, before it is taken back by the lender". The idea of claiming the body, etc., as ours, arises from a false sense of 'mine'.

Karma is potent as an aid to our salvation. When we think, feel and act, we must do so to promote the wellbeing of others. The fruits of all one's good deeds must be used in the service of others. While being fully responsible for our actions, we must act with a sense of being instruments of God, not as agents in our own right. It so happens that when the fruits are good, we claim agency for them, seeking to appropriate them to ourselves and when they are bad, we disown responsibility and charge them to the account of others. Our moral and spiritual development consists in doing good to others by our thoughts, words and physical action and by sharing or taking over the suffering of others. We

do not know whether or not the suffering of others is due to their previous bad deeds. We have no right to tell them that they have brought it on themselves. Whenever and wherever we see suffering we have to do our best to relieve it. Failure to try to relieve suffering is also bad *karma.* While evil brings suffering, all suffering is not evil. Suffering for the sake of others strengthens our moral fibre and chastens those others by its redemptive power. In our moral and spiritual development, even *āṇava,* which in the unredeemed state, clouds our union and thwarts our faculties, promotes by the Grace of God, a God-centred sense of 'I' and 'mine' when redemption commences. The soul that has evolved to use *karma* and *māyā* for the welfare of others, now is actuated by a sublime sense of 'I' and 'mine'. The 'I' of a redeemed soul goes out now to offer itself for service in all emergency. Similarly, the 'mine now, operates, not to claim rewards which are either its own due or that of others, but the liabilities of others. For this, under God, it goes on building its stock of good deeds, to give away their rewards to others. In the langauge of Śaivism, *Tirodhāna Śakti* which actuates *āṇava karma* and *māyā,* becomes *Anugraha Śakti.* We may take it, therefore, that *āṇava karma* and *māyā* also operate beneficially, not detrimentally at and after redemption.

The *Siddhānta* texts expound the points stated above with arguments and with replies to the objections raised by others. These are of interest and value from a theoretical standpoint. The devotional literature of Śaivism shows how the Śaiva Saints lived a God-centred life. The *Periya Purāṇam* gives an account of the lives of sixty-three saints. A cursory reading of this work may not impress us. But a careful study will show how the saints made their life God-centred. Whether their life stream was turbulent or calm, its undercurrent was an unremitting steady love of the Lord. God's Grace initiates, guides and crowns the soul's development. Grace awaits patiently the soul's response even when it is slow or grudging.

The *purāṇas* say that when the celestials and demons churned the ocean to get nectar, what emerged first was deadly poison, threatening to destroy every one and everything. They appealed to Śiva, to save them from imminent destruction. Śiva gathered the poison and swallowed it. It got retained in His throat stain-

ing it blue. The blue-throated Śiva is the Lord worshipped by all Śaivites. Surely they have to live to the example set by the Lord! They must build up, by His Grace, their moral and spiritual strength, to take upon themselves the suffering that the world is subjected to. Human development means and ought to mean for Śaivites, the cultivation of redemptive love.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA'S ENCOUNTER WITH THE WEST

An Existential — Marxist -cum- 'Avatar' Complex

Interpretation of an Indian's Modernisation

(Abstract of the paper proposed to be presented in the 13th Annual Meeting of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilisations)

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Session: Intercivilisational Encounters and the Process of Modernisation

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Swami Vivekananda has been steeped in the "Great (Indian) Tradition" of Advaita when he was exposed to the greatest culture shock of his life during his first encounter with modernity in the west. Though he was initially overwhelmed by the achievements of modernisation in the Western world during this first encounter, he did not lose his ontological moorings in his own tradition: further, he subseqently revised his positive estimate of the achievements of modernisation in the light of a deeper knowledge of the problems and prospects it engendered. He is a paradigm case for the intra psychic "dialectic of tradition and modernity" (Werblowsky, 1976). The process of his assimilation of modernity was an authentic (Bugenthal, 1965) one: he did not, like the subjects studied by Milton Singer (1972) much later, resort to psychological defence mechanism like compartmentalisation and ritual neutralisation towards reducing the

cognitive dissonance engendered by his personal encounter with modernisation; instead, his stance vis-vis the dilemmas of tradition and modernity was rooted in an "internally generated coherence of experience" (Shils, 1971). He was also the first Indian to being what C. E. M. Joad has characterised as the "Counter attack from the East". He was a pioneer in the authentic synthesis of tradition and modernity. While assimilating modernity and commending it to his compatriots at home in India, he simultaneously reaffirmed the relevance of the eternal values of this great Indian tradition for the modernising and even the post-modern world.

The subject of the study is the *phenomenon* of Swami Vivekananda in the matrix of his socio-cultural environment: his genesis, his Manifestation and impact with special emphasis on the challenge of modernity and his creative response thereto from within the deep current of the spiritual tradition that was flowing through him.

The phenomenon of Vivekananda is a loud and impeccable refutation of Max Weber Thesis — Phase Three which is to the effect that the great religious tradition of Advaita is an obstacle to the process of modernisation in India: No doubt he was steeped in the tradition of Advaita when he had his first encounter with modernity. But, instead of resisting its influence on him — as he should have if Max Weber thesis were correct — he quickly and discriminatingly assimilated elements of modernity, commended it to his compatriots, became the "awakener of modern India" and, at the same time, acted as a spokesman for the relevance of the eternal values of the great tradition of India for the modernising and even the post modern world. He propagated the values of hard and unremitting toil (instrumental activism' in the parlance of Inkeles, 1974), positive attitude to science and technology and capacity to form and work in organisations — typical modern values. He has had an experience of nirvikalpa samadhi that is, of contentless consciousness — the summum bonum of human life and the summit of spiritual experience as per the Advaita tradition. He renounced the world early in life and did not marry. Yet he evinced keen and intense social concern. Swami Vivekananda illustrated in his own life how modernity can be smoothly assimilated within the framework of the Advaita world view: the guideline he articulated in this context was to

follow tradition, be open to experience and modify tradition after adequate reflection when experience contradicts tradition and engenders cognitive dissonance. He firmly rejected resort to defence mechanisms which he called "individual superstitions" ritualism at the societal level and supersitions — both religious and scientific at that (Raja Ganesan, 1980). He found he could assimilate every modern value within the framework of the Advaita worldview save caste which he rejected as no integral to this worldview at the religious level but only a sociohistorical accretion. He also affirmed that jivan mukti liberation here and now on this side of the grave — was possible in any claim and time, including the western region and the modern era.

Vivekananda exemplifies an optimal combination of tradition and modernity vis-a-vis Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurobindo and Ramana Maharishi. Gandhi was too immersed in his immediate concerns to engage in the quest for ultimate goals like spiritual transcendence. Gandhi also rejected large scale organisation and technology. Tagore was affiliated to the Visishtadvaita tradition. Aurobindo departed from the Advaita worldview in certain respects (like proposing a spiral conception of time in the place of the cyclic conception in the Advaita theodicy). Social concern is conspicious by its absence in Ramana Maharishi. Gandhi, Tagore and Aurobindo have acknowledged the inspiration and influence of Vivekananda in their own life and thought. Thus Vivekananda was also an exemplary pioneer among the highly religious personalities of recent Indian renaissance who — confounding Max Weber thesis — sought to seize the historical initiative and became the vanguard, catalyst and the medium of the modernisation process. Through these figures were, to begin with, marginal men in varying degrees. In the context of their own sociohistorical environment they have subsequently become the new rallying centres of sociocultural life in modern India. They are the new norms. The revivalists who harked back upon the Vedic past in its pristine and sterile purity have fallen by the wayside of Indian history.

William Genkner who has made a study of the "religious personality within contemporary Hinduism" (1976) rightly observe that the process of reconciling tradition and modernity, of bridging the gap between change and continuity can be best understood in the lives of the extraordinary men and women of

the period. However, he views the biographical approach and the sociohistorical/theoretical approach as mutually exclusive. Not that Genkner ignores the sociohistorical context. In fact, he begins with "a brief consideration of the personality of the man under consideration, *historically* (emphasis added) Outlined around a dominating characteristic which has emerged from his individual life" and then investigates "a single aspect of his philosophy namely, his philosophy of man wherein the significant quality of his personality becomes the philosophical vision for an understanding of man (per se)" which in turn becomes the basis for relating his practical activity. However, Genkner focuses on the *unique elements* in each of the personalities he has chosen for investigation and he communicates his findings in ideographic terms. The understanding of the actual existential, intra-psychic processes of negotiating and bridging the gaps between tradition and modernity is thus left to be accomplished by the reader in a deep, implicit, subjective and intuitional level. The difficulty for Genkner has been that "no simple phenomenological structure is universally appllicable".

At the *content* level I will be drawing up on Kakar's (1977) Freudian psychoanalytic interpretation of Vivekananda's chlidhood. Of course, what I draw there from, will be purified in the light of the existentialists' critique of Freud (Izenberg, 1976) and my own critique of Freud based on my theory of the Buddha Complex (1982). My theory is to the effect that it is preposterous to try to explain the phenomenon of taking to sannyasa (abjuring of sexual intercourse) in terms of Freud's pansexual theory of motivation. I will also be drawing upon Kakar's (1977) differentiation between the psychoanalytic and Yoga images of adulthood. Again, I will be drawing upon B. P. Dutta's (1954) study of Vivekananda from the Marxist — dialectical perspective: Dutta has sought to account for the life-course and (spiritual) career trajectory of Vivekananda in the background of "the social heredity of the nineteenth century", "the nineteenth century and the (Indian) renaissance", Vivekananda's family pedigree, his successive encounters with his spiritual mentor and with the west.

My focus will be essentially on the existential dialectic of the cognitive processes which resulted in Vivekananda's eventual reconciliation of tradition and modernity: particularly, Immanent

conception of God, Maya, Cyclic conception of time, Karma and Rebirth and caste on the one hand and the traits of the modern man listed by Inkeles (1974) on the other.

The following aspects of this project are facilitative: unlike in Hegel and Marx, dialectic is located by Sartre subjectively in the epistemic structure of the individual (Allen, 1979). Thus for understanding Vivekananda we do not have to await the dialectical completion of the process of modernisation in objective history.

The challenge of modernity — the worldview deriving from the Enlightenment ideology of progress — would not have been quite formidable to Vivekananda after all. The Indian worldview has encountered many challenges — internal and external — and has successfully *argued them into assimilation. As* Medard Boss (1965) observes: there is no philosophical position any where in the world which does not find its counterpart within the rich and varied specturum of worldviews offered in Indian culture. Further, philosophising in India has always been encyclopaedic: that is, each thinker not only stated his own position but sought to vindicate it with respect to *every other* extant position. This mode of thinking is precisely what Sartre's dialetic of totalisation — detotalisation — retotalisation consists of. The Advaita worldview, a historical totality — has been challenged by the ideology of progress, derving from the Western worldview: it has been detotalised. To illustrate more specifically: India is deemed by the westerners to be a society without history because Indian's have been conditioned by the worldview prevalent perpetuated in their culture to the cyclic conception of time; if they are to break out of their stagnant, repetitive history and make progress they must accept the worldview where time is linear. Thus the Indian worldview stands *detotalised* in the face of the concrete progress achieved in the history of the west.

By pointing out that the progress achieved in the west is merely a redistribution of the resources of the environment on a different principle: that the religious era has been followed by the political era which in turn will be followed by the commercial and the 'sudra' (proletarian) era and that this fits admirably into the notion of the cyclic conception af time Vivekananda has *retotalised* and vindicated (Raja Ganesan, 1982) the validity of the Advaita worldview. It finds its confirmation in the "closing

circle" (Commoner, 1971) of the environmental crisis of the last third of our country.

The following are the difficulties I anticipate:

Sartre's phenomenological method postulates that human consciousness is invariably transitive — that it always arises as consciousness of an object, even if it is a reflective, second order consciousness. Sartre's "purifying reflection" can only purge consciousness of ego and the "spirit of seriousness" and make it a non-egological *impersonal* spontaneity, but it is deemed to arise always with an object. That seems to me to be the limit upto which the secular *human* consciousness can go and have discourses within. However, Vedanta deems this limit to be a penultimate on and offers a technology of salvation by means of which one can reach across to the ultimate summit of contentless consciousness where one enjoys the sublation of the pluralities of the world into the totality of the One-without-a-second. Swami Vivekananda is reported to have enjoyed a spell of nirvikalpa samadhi— of contentless consciousness. It may not be possible for me to follow the metamorphases of Vivekananda's consciousness beyond the secular limit upto which Sartre has gone.

Again, it may not be possible to account for the *ultimate why*' of the phenomenon of Vivekananda even if I could trace exhaustively the how of it with Sartre's method. At these limits of the inquiry I may have to resort to a theory of the 'Avatar Complex', a phenomenon reported to be encountered in Indian psychiatric practice. The subject who is afflicted with this complex believes that he has an innate mission to fulfill. The Buddha (Kata, 1982), Freud (Bakan, 1958) and even Marx (Plamenatz, 1975) believed that they had each mission to fulfil. These figures resolves their 'Avatar Complex' by consummating it — by demonstrating the truth of their prophecy namely that it was their destiny to change human self-understanding and history.

Swami Vivekananda did make such a claim (Nirvadananda, 1925). Further, he claimed a knowledge of his previous life though he did not disclose details. He also announced that he would die as soon as his mission was over. Not merely that: he had a premonition of his death — this is evident in the account of his last days and his case clearly illustrates what I have elsewhere (1976) outlined as the abdicatory theory of death. (This theory draws, among other things, from a global study which arrives at the conclusion that men of first order of eminence the world over manifest a tendency to round out their lives).

REPORT OF SEMINARS

The following Seminar proceedings on 'the Comparative Study of Cultures of Dravidians and Africans' held ou the 29th July 1983 under the auspices of the Institute and led by Dr. K. P. Aravanan are in continuation of those published in the Bulletin, July-December 1982 (pp. 61-70).

MARRIAGE

(Matrimony)

Definition:

The institutionalized form of sex relation is called marriage. Marriage ensures two kinds of satisfaction to the human beings viz. a biological satisfaction through sex relation, and a psychological satisfaction through children which in turn leads to the social relationship.

A spouse for heart not for bed alone:

Particularly among the Dravidians and the Africans, marriage is considered a sacred bondage. Men and women are to each other for the eyes and for the heart and not only for the bed.

Absence of Prostitution:

Prostitution was completely absent in primitive days. The Africans came to know about this evil practice only after the arrival of the Europeans. The Europeans introduced prostitution as a consequence of the lack of white women in the beginning of European settlements in the colonies and also as a corollary to monogamy. All matured women in Africa must be married in their teens i.e. 15, 20 years. It is significant to note here that there are no words for prostitution, unmarried and old maids in African languages.[1]

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1. ...and that in order to avoid prostitution (no word exists in the Gikuyu language) all women must be married in

Similarly Tamil, the classical and the oldest language of the Dravidian group has not a separate word for prostitution or unmarried or old maids. At present there is a word *parattai* in Tamil which denotes prostitute. But this word has originated from the Sanskrit word parasthā. Another word for prostitute *dāsi* (literally means female slave) is also of Sanskrit origin. When the soldiers go abroad for war stretching over many months, even years together they would have contacts with some foreign ladies to satiate their physical urge. After the end of war, the soldiers who had won, would have brought foreign women to their country as a symbol of their victory. Later on, this group of foreign ladies would have turned into prostitutes. Prostitution would have been introduced in this Dravidian continent by such events or after the arrival of the Aryans. Polygamy[2] and timely marriages might have been the other reasons for the total absence of prostitution. Ancient Tamil literature• speaks about the age of marriage, being fixed at 12 for women and 16 for men. Besides, Dravido-Africans, even most of the tribes of other primitive tribes of the world have adopted strict principles for their sexual relation.

Prostitute or Concubine?

The Tamil literature of Cankam period mentions about this with the word *parattai*. Even Madhavi, a character of *Cilappathikāram* or Manimēkalai, the heroine of the epic *Manimēkalai* is described as *parattai*. Saint Thiruvaḷḷuvar allots a separate chapter (Ch. No. 92) in his famous work Thirukkuraḷ to discuss 'wanton woman'. Particularly Tamil Cankam poems use this word, which means only concubine or second wife.[1] In modern times people call them *Vaipāṭṭi*[2]. It means secondary wife who gets married to and dedicates her whole life, only to a particular male. Therefore the institution of prostitution might have entered into the

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their teens i.e. 15, 20. Thus there is no term in the Gikuyu language for unmarried or old maids. J. Kenyatta. Facing mount Kenya. p. 174.

2. Requires study: Because prostitution is lacking probably and certainly by this polygamic attitude.

1. refer to Chinese "ptsiptsi" marriage.
2. Vaipāṭṭi — Vaippu = desire.

Dravidian soil only after the Aryan invasion. The description of prostitute in the epic *Manimēkalai* might have originated only after this. For that matter, even the works of Thiruvaḷḷuvar and Iḷaṅkōvaṭikal also have come after the intrusion of the Aryan concepts.

Arranged Marriage:

Barring a few tribes, others follow the system of arranged marriage. Most of the marriages are arranged through the mutual agreements between parents of both the bride and the bride-groom. There is a little difference between the Dravidian and the African customs in the procedural aspects of the matrimony. The consent of parents is a must in both except a few groups within them.

Bride-Price:

When an alliance is made by the bridegroom or his family either he or they should pay bride price in terms of cattles or money to the parents of the bride. This is a prominent custom among the hill tribes as well as the dwellers in the plains of South India. They call it *mulaikkūli*, which means that payment for the mother for her having raised the bride by her mother's breast feeding. The Mother delivers the child with great pain, feeds the child through her breast and nurses her till the daughter attains puberty, a stage showing physical fitness for marriage. For these services of the mother, she is given *mulaikkūli*.

Groom's Price:

At present, the system has been changed in a few communities eg. in most of the Brahmin (the present representative remnants of the Aryans) communities, Nāyars of Kerala and Veḷḷālars of Nānjilnādu (Tamilnādu). In these communities the family of the bride must pay to the parents of the bride-groom. Dowry system might have arisen due to some custom of the Nambudri Brahmins of Kerala.

Aryan Nambudri's Custom:

Aryan Namboodris have adopted a peculiar custom that only the eldest members of the family should marry within their caste, whereas the junior male members should find their female part-

ners from the non-Aryan communities. The junior male members of Aryan Numbudri might have introduced this dowry system. Usually, junior members of Nambudri brahmin families might select their spouses from the families of Nāyar or other non-Aryan castes. Nāyar women want to marry Nambūdris because they believe that the Nūmbudris are superior to them. Even today, according to one scholar, the women of royal familes of the Cochin and Zamorin dynasties and the ladies of the chiefs of Malabar and Cochin who practise matriarchy can have only Nambudri husbands.[1] Because of high competition and the willingness of the junior Nambūdris, the Aryan Nambūdris would have introduced the dowry system under which the bride has to pay a sum to the bridegroom. The specific symptom of *marumakkaḷ tāyam* might also have arisen to safeguard and strengthen the hands of Nambudri Brahmins. Kanyakumari district (Cape comerin)was under the reign of the King of South Travancore (Kerala) for several centuries. Due to that, the Tamil Veḷḷālār had also come under the influence of the dowry system.

The practice of tendering bride groom's price is not a prominent one among the other Dravidians.[2] The Malavēṭans, the Malakurāvans, the Thantapulayas, the Malapulayas and so many tribes of southern India have the custom of paying some thing to the bride which goes to the mother, the maternal uncle and the aunt.

A Similar custom is also prevalent among Ibos of Nigeria, the Basukus of Belgian Congo, Dahomiens of Benin, and a number of other ethnic of Africa. In a few tribes, inability to pay the bride's price may lead the bride groom to work under his father-in-law for some time and after fulfilling the compensation, the bride will be given to the bride groom. This type of marriage called 'marriage by service'. Such marriages are common among the Dravidian tribes and the Africans.

Approach to Alliance:

Among the tribal communities and plain dwellers communities of the Dravidians, the parents of the bride never go to the

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1. The tribal people of India. p. 37.
2. In modern times, groom who is in good position demands more money or things from the parents of bride.

groom's house at the first instance and never ask the parents for the bridegroom directly. At first, the relatives of the bridegroom will go the bride's house.

The parents of the bride give soft drinks and such other things and betel leaves and areca nut to the bridegroom's party. The conversation will go on about the marriage. The bride's parents would ask them to have lunch with them. If the groom's parents are willing to take the meals it will be assumed that they accept the terms and condition of the marriage. The marriage will take place after some days or months. The Dravidians describe this system as follows, "bride is like a flower; groom is like a bee. Flower never goes to the bee; but the bee must come to the flower. The Tamils call puberty "flowering" (pūppu) and marriage 'smelling' (*maṇam* or *mannatthal*)".

The Black Africans also have a similar system. The bride is selected by the groom's family. Inquiries are made about her character; if it is satisfactory the groom's uncle would visit her family; if the bride's parents agree to an engagement, they assemble the family together and if there is no objection, a day will be fixed for 'nsala', the salutation. The father of the groom, the uncle and the brothers will come with a lot a palm wine and meat to the assembled family of the bride. The girl would be asked whether she is willing to be engaged to the bridegroom and she would show her consent by sipping a cup palm-wine. Then the other formalities will follow.

Bride A Flower:

In Bondo (North west of the River Machkund, Orissa) the father of the bride, when he hands over his daughter to the groom, says "So far we protected this flower (bride). Now, we hand over this flower to you. Kindly keep it and protect it."[1]

A similar symbolism enters into the African life and culture. When a man comes to a bride's father and says "I have come to beg a Caalabash", it means that his nephew wants to marry his daughter.

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1. African ideas of God. p. 11.

Both the Dravidians and the Africans, would never send their sons directly to the parents of the bride and the maternal uncle plays a major role in his nephew's marriage.

New Mats for New Couple:

Particularly at the time of marriage, the parents of the bride buy some articles for their daughter. Among them "a fine new mat" gets the primary place. Usually newly married couples are given only new mats. The origin of this custom is unknown. But this custom is common to the Dravidians as well as the Africans.

Marriage Bath:

The bride and the groom must be clean before their marriage; they must take bath in the early morning and wear new dresses. This is a common custom in Tamilnadu irrespective of castes and tribes. But, in Kanyākumari district, the southern end of Tamilnādu, the Veḷḷāḷās of Nāñjilnādu have a peculiar system. Besides the early morning bath, the newly married couple must take bath together after the marriage i.e. that night. In this ceremony the bride pours water on the bride groom and the bride-groom in turn pours water on the bride. This ceremony is adopted by the Keralites also.[1] A verse in Aṇṭāḷ's (8 century A.D.) poems in Tamil refers to this custom in, "mañcanam āṭack kanākkaṇṭēn" (I dreamt that I was taking marriage bath with my husband Tirumāl.) This bears evidence to the ceremony of marriage bath in practice even in the 8th century A.D.

Similar bath, but with a little difference is noticed among the Africans. The bride is adorned, and dressed and is taken in procession by her relatives to her husband's house. There she is given a ritual bath as a sign of entry to a new wedded life.

Kissing in public:

Kissing in public, especially between the opposite sexes, is completely absent among the Dravidians and the Africans, as an expression of love by lovers. The Dravidian languages have a

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1. This custom prevails in Nāṭṭukoṭṭai Cheṭṭiar community also, in which yellow-coloured water is poured on the bride and the groom by their relatives including children.

word for kiss called *muttam* (DED 4063). But Tamil literature uses this word in the context of mother and children. Accordingly, the mother gives kisses to her children and vice-versa. Ancient Tamil literature describes the lips of the lady-love to be so sweet. Thirukkural (2 century A.D.) says,

> The saliva which oozes from the white teeth of this damsel of sort-speech is like a mixture of milk and honey. (C. 1121).

From this description one can infer that the habit of kissing existed in Tamilnadu. There is not a single description about kissing in public throughout the vast literature of love poems in Tamil.

Similarly love-kissing in public is an uncommon feature among the Africans, though, they now have it due to European influence.

Puberty and after:

A number of the Dravidian plain communities hold that a girl may not even speak to a boy after she has reached puberty.[1] Even Cankam Tamil love poems speak about the restrictions on matured girls from going out of their homes. Some times, the girls are compelled to stay alone in their houses. This is called "*il-cherippu*" (house-stay). The Africans have this custom. In Zulu land, even today this custom is in practice.

Premarital Pregnancy:

Premarital Pregnancy is considered as a social disgrace for both the parties in the Dravidian and the African societies. Bapidi girl (Africa) should remain a virgin till her marriage, and in some cases, the female folks of the bridegrooms party conduct virginity tests on the bride on the day of marriage.

Fondling:

Ancient Tamil love songs describe a kind of clan-destine union between lovers (unmarried couples). It does not mean a

1. But this system is not common among lower communities, tribes and Brahmins and at present, this system is slowly disappearing in towns and cities, but in villages, it still exists.

sexual intercourse. It may be called fondling. Such fondling may be equated slightly with *Ngweko* of Gikuyu.[1] (Kenya) and some Bantu people.

Marriage by capture:

In ancient times, young men captured women as their partners from their houses. This custom is generally allowed on a particular festive time. This custom is practised by the Malayalis of North Arcot, the Naga tribes, the Ho of Orissa, the Bhils, the Gond, central Indian Dravidian tribe, the Khari and the Birhor. Inability to pay the high bride price might be the reason for this capture. But in recent times this actual 'capture' has slowly changed into a 'mock' capture.

Gond, a Dravidian tribe which inhabits in Karnātakā, Orissa and Rajasthan practises this mock-capture. The parents of the girls themselves request the family of the groom to capture their daughter. When the bride is carried away, the bride's group makes a Sham fight with the groom's group. At that time, the bride is expected to weep and lament. After the mock-fight the marriage follows. The Ho also has this system.[1] Like this, Shilluk a Nilotic Negro ethnic group of Africa, also demand that groom must give some bride price. It is usually ten cows. Besides, the suitor makes frequent presents of food to his future parents-in-law. After some time, he goes and claims his partner. At that time, a mock-fight will be conducted between the kin of the bride and the friends of the suitor. A Dinka bride is carried off by grooms's group through a hole in the back wall of her hut, while the arranged sham fight goes on.

Gikuyu of Mount Kenya also has this custom. Jomo Kenyatta, the author of 'Facing Mount Kenya' and first President of Kenya[2] describes:

> In response to the boy's request, the family meets in council; the day is fixed for the wedding and kept secret from the girl, thus adding a dramatic touch to the proceedings. On the wedding day the boy's female relatives set

1. Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya. PP. 157-160.
1. Vivāha in Sanskrit means, carrying away.
2. Jomo Kenyatta himself belongs to Gikuya.

out to watch the girl's movements. She might be in a garden, wedding or in a forest collecting firewood, etc. when they have obtained the necessary information as to where she is working they search for her. On finding her, they return with her, carrying her at shoulder-high. This is a moment of real theatrical acting. The girl struggles and refuses to go with them, protesting loudly and even seeming to shed tears, while the women giggle joyously and cheer her with songs and dances. The cries and cheers can be heard for miles around, and the Gikuyu people will know that the son of so-and-so has taken the daughter of so-and-so in marriage. While foreigners may imagine that the girl has been forcibly seized, it is probable that any person who is not well acquainted with the Gikuyu customs may easily mistake this high ritual drama for a near reality.

In some cases, where families are larger, a sham fight is staged between the woman of both sides. This provides a great entertainment for the women folk and is followed by a grand feast at the bridegroom's homestead. The girl's cries, which are uttered *theatrically* in a singing manner, include such phrases as: "I do not want to get married; I will kill myself if you take me away from my parents! Oh! How foolish I was to leave my home alone and put myself into the hands of merciless people! Where are my relatives? Cannot they come and release me and prevent my being taken to a man whom I do not love?" and so on. This goes on until the girl reaches the boy's home and they greet her, singing praises for their new bride. On her way home the bride is cheered by passers-by, who utter blessings for the bride and bridegroom and for their future homestead.[1]

Ancestor Worship During Marriage:

Paying rich honours to the ancestors is a common custom for both. Particularly at the time of marriage, the couple is asked to pray to their ancestors. Among the Muria tribe of Madhya Pradesh, the relatives of the boy would go to the house of the girl and tell them that they have come to pluck the flower (bride) from their home. The parents of the bride would understand what the words of the relatives of the boy really mean.

1. Jomo Kenyatta-Facing the Mount Kenya. p.p. 171-172.

Then the marriage will be settled. During the marriage they have a little sham fight. After the marriage the couple should be ready for a special prayer to the husband's ancestors. Similarly, the Africans perform certain ceremonies for their ancestors, at the time of marriage. The bride must visit the graves of her husband's ancestors.

Hand In Hand:

Arranged marriages are very common among the Dravidians and the Africans, although the other types are also known to them. The father of a girl gives away his daughter in marriage to a man. That is to say in marriage, bride's hand is jointed with the bridegroom's hand and the priest spells so many mantras. In Tamil, Āṇṭāḷ calls this marriage as "*Kaithalam paṟṟal*" (holding the groom's hand). In Sanskrit, it is noted as *Pāṇigrahaṇa*.

The African people of Ijebu have the system. Marriage alliance between two families is negotiated by mutual friends. On a particular day already fixed for this purpose both the families and their relatives assemble at the bride's home. To unite the couple, the father holding the hand of the groom and the bride respectively, says to the groom, "This woman will be your wife". (*Winobirewionrayare*) and to the bride, "This man will be your husband" (Wirokunewi Onrokore).

Afterwards the father of the bridegroom would cut a coconut and give each half to the bride and bridegroom. In Dravidian India coconut will be broken into two in all ceremonies including marriage.

Marriage By Service:

Bride-price is very common and not unusual among various tribes and other communities in India. In some groups, the amount of dowry to bride is very high and the boys cannot afford to give it. That is how marriage by service originated. It is an alternative type of 'marriage by purchase' when the groom is too poor to pay the dowry to bride.

In such cases, the bridegroom will be ready to give his labour instead of money or other kind of material. He may work as a servant is his father-in-law's house till the bride-price is paid off by means of his services. The Mannans and the Paliyans follow

this system. This method is predominant among the Gonds and the Baigas. Gonds name him *Lamnana* and the Baiga *Lamsena* or *gaharia*. Birhors father-in-law helps his prospective son-in-law in a novel way. He pays the bride-price in advance as a loan to his son-in-law. Till the time the loan is repaid, the son-in-law should stay in the father-in-law's house and should do some work. In this way, Gurkhas of Nepal work as labourers. After the completion of a specified period, Khasa daughters will be married to them by the parents of the former.

In this way, the Malaiyalis of North Arcot serve for a year, Paniyans of Malabār for six months, Kādir for two years i.e., one year for selection of a wife and another year for bride-price; Gadabas of Vicakapatnam have to work for six months for this purpose.

Such a custom in also reported from Africa. Among the Babemba, girls are married usually before maturity. The groom gives a symbolic presentation to his father-in-law. Then he proceeds to the village of father-in-law and works there. He continues his labour for seven years. Meanwhile, he may become the father of one or more children. Only after the fulfilment of bride-price, one can take his "would be" to his own house.[1]

Probationary Marriage:

Parents permit a young man to stay with his lover in the girl's house for weeks together. After that, if the boy or girl likes they can marry each other; otherwise; they would separate but the young man must pay cash compensation to the parents of the girl. Such type of indefinite relation has been recorden among the Kotas of Nilgiri district. In this way a girl can discard half a dozen suitors. Cuki of Assam also practises this system.

Similarly, the Basukus Kwango district of Belgian Congo has this type of spouse selection. They allow the couple to cohabit without any objection for about six months. Even after that, the man is at liberty to repudiate the girl if he is not satisfied with her.[1]

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1. A Source book for African Anthropology. P. 412.
1. African journal Vol. XVII No. 4 Oct. 1947, P.P. 288, 9.

New House for New Couple:

At present generally the traditional Dravidian adopts a joint family system. Sons and their wives live in the same house jointly even after their marriages, with son's parents. Daughters alone go away on being married and join their husbands and in-laws under the same roof. But this system is an ancient one. Kōvalan, and Kaṇṇāki the hero and the heroine of Cilappathikāram (Tamil epic 3rd century A.D.) were given a separate house after their marriage. At present, the business community of Tamilnad, Nāṭṭukkōṭṭai Cheṭṭimār, adopts the very same system.[2] Even Dravidian tribes have followed this, though they stayed around the parents house as a cluster of individual family unit.

Toṭṭiyans or Kambālās of Madurai and Thirunelveli (Tamilnadu) have a similar system. Before their marriage they should build a new hut for the new couple.

Such custom is more prevalent among the Africans, Ovimbundu (Angola & Zambia) bride chooses one married woman and six unmarried girls to accompany her to the house that has been built by her husband on his father's land, as nearer as possible to his parent's home. Gikuyu (Kenya) bride also gets such a new hut.

Staying separately in the new hut does not mean that the couple dislike or has enmity with parents or clans. It is a custom to make them equal to their parents Social status and to shape them into independent and responsible members of the community.

POLYGAMY

Polygamy among the Dravidians and the Africans:

Polygamy among the Dravido-Africans:

The Dravidians practised polygamous form of marriage, until it was statutorily prohibited recently. It has completely become extinct except among Muslims and in a few tribal communities. In ancient times this was a common phenomenon. Many kings adopted polygamy which has strengthened and helped them politically. People also had this practice as a common feature.

2. The system is known as 'separation' (வேறு வைத்தல்)

Tholkappiyar mentions about the oldest wife (Tonmurai manaivi) (Karpiyal 31). Through this, he mentions indirectly about the system of polygamy. The poets of the ancient Tamilnadu very often speak about concubines (parattai).[1] Kings and laymen married more wives. Paḷḷu literature in Tamil describes eloquently a scene of fight among the wives of a man.

The African continent is the richest arena for polygamy which allows a number of wives to a man at one and the same time. The number of sweet-hearts may be fifty or even more than that. This is the primary reason why most of them tend to get themselves easily converted into Islam which permits polygamy religiously. Murdock studied 250 societies in which polygamy existed in 95, as against 43 monogamous societies. One point must be noted here that polygamy did not arise on the instinctive basis.

Reasons for Polygamy:

More particularly, the Africans consider that their children and wives, very many in their number, are the wealth and strength of them. The Africans believe that when a man has more than one wife and many children he will be benefited not only on the earth but also in the other world. His soul would rest in peace after death, he believes.[1]

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1. The term 'Parattai' does not mean prostitute. It means only *vaippātti*, who cohabits and devotes herself only with a particular man in her whole life. In later days, after the Aryans came, prostitution was introduced.

1. Total No. of houses in the 20 towns and villages

examined	1641
Married Men	842
Married women	1973
Unmarried girls of marriageable age	84
Unmarried men of marriageable age	673
Men with one wife	411
Men with 2 wives	184
Men with 3 wives	72
Men with more than 3 wives	175

Africa, July 1937. P. 259 Oxford University Press, London.

In a number of societies the number of women exceed men. In the tribe Wa Hehe of Africa, there is an excess of 8000 females over males, of whom at least 4000 would be of marriageable age. In ancient Tamilnadu also, a large number of men were soldiers. Through wars, the strength of male population was reduced by death in battles. But women were not allowed to participate in wars. Such tradition was the reason why women are in surplus. To overcome this people (men) had to practise polygamy.

Polyandry:

Definition and Divisions:

The marriage of one woman to more than a man is called polyandry. This is divided into two.

1. *Fraternat Polyandry or Lavirate*:

When several brothers share the same wife. The brothers of one's husband are called levirates.

2. *General Polyandry*:

One woman stays with several men. There need not be any close relationship between the husbands.

This extraordinarily abnormal and unusual type of matrimonial relation or system was prevalent among the ancient Spartans, Eskimos, Dieri tribe of Australia, Africans and Indians. Like polygamy, this is not a popular custom among the Africans or the Dravidians. But we see instances here and there, to the effect that polyandry was in vogue. Now it has almost declined except in a few tribes.

Reasons for Polyandry:

Matriarchy, property consideration, deficit of men, the higher bride-price and impotency of men are the main reasons for polyandry.

The following tribes adopted polyandry.

Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas, Badagas (Dravidians), Tiyans, Khasa and Ladakhi Bota. Until the beginning of 20th century Nayars of Kerala adopted the general type of polyandry prominently. Thurston records a type of polyandry that was in prac-

tice among Tottiyans or Kambalattars (Telugus), Kāppiliyans (Kanarese), Kallans (Madurai) and Sinhalas (Cylonese).[1]

Fraternal polyandry was formerly common among Kammālars, Kaniyans, and Krishnavakkars of Travancore, Malayāravans, the Kanikkars, the pulayas and the parayas.

Polyandry is reported even among the Indo-Aryans and the Mongoloids from Kashmir to Assam. This may be due to the influence of the custom of other tribes around them.

The story of Draupadai and her five husbands who are brothers in the epic Mahābhārata, is a evidence of the well spread polygamous form. "The elder brother's wife is a half wife to his youngers" (Aṇṇan peṇṭāṭṭi arai peṇṭāṭṭi) is a common proverb among the Tamils.

As in India, polyandry has a limited foot in the African soil. There is a tale in Gikuyu of Kenya that they had polyandry when their societies originated from Moombi a lady founder. After that, women were forced to change their habit by men. Among Gikuyu, in the case of barrennes or impotence, both the husband and the wife go through a practical test to prove who has to be blamed. The husband would allow his wife to have sexual intercourse with one or more men of his age grade.[1]

Banyankole of north east Africa, Gwari tribe and a few other communities from Northern Nigeria had polyandry. Fraternal polyandry was adopted among Banyankole. Inability of a man to pay cattle to the bride was the reason to this. So, all brothers together shared the dowry and paid to a woman to legalise the marriage. "The woman lives with each of her husbands in turn until pregnant, then she remains with the eldest brother until her child is born. Only the eldest brother goes through the form of marriage but it is understood that the woman is the wife of all, yet, all the children of such a marriage are recognized as children of the eldest brother.[1] The same method is adopted by Todas of Nigiri. Gwari woman's polyandry is almost the same as Nayar woman of Kerala.

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1. Ethnographic Notes. p.p. 111-114.
1. Facing Mount Kenya. p.p. 184.
1. Source book for African Anthropology. p. 417.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS ON SEX

Love-Dormitories:

The Muria tribe, famous for their ghotul system lives in Madhya Pradesh. They speak a Dravidian tongue called Gondi. Murias have a peculiar system, for their youngsters. This system is named as'*Ghotul*' which means (love) dormitories. Each village must have a love-dormitory. In this dormitory, youngsters both boys and girls are freely allowed to cohabit with each other, but in a regular convention. This is considered a teaching centre for love, character, social customs etc. This Ghotul life is for a specified period only. A boy can stay with a girl in the Ghotul only for three days. In 'Jodidhar Ghotul', a boy or girl can select each other but they two alone can live together. Here 'monogamy' is strictly adopted. They have other type of Ghotul also viz. a boy can stay with any girl for three days. But there is no right to claim each other. After the Ghotul life, boys and girls are usually married, some times, with each other or with anybody else *mōtti-yāri*. But this life is not an end to the natives. It is only a prelude to their forthcoming married life.

Similar love-hut life is reported from Africa and Madagascar and a few other countries.[1] "Societies" or schools for bachelors are run by many African communities-Poro and Sande communities of Sierra Leone, a few other people from Basuto land and Bechuana land have this love-training system for youngsters. Gikuyu adopts widely this love-huts' relation (Ngweko). But, Gikuyu youths show the platonic love and fondling between each other, except full sexual intercourse. Coitus is strictly prohibited.

Puberty:

Among the Hindus, in South India when a girl attains puberty, she is asked to remain in a corner at the house for three days and is forbidden from seeing the sun.

Paliyan tribal girls of Tamilnādu during puberty, keep indoors for fifteen days and avoid seeing the sun. They can move freely in the house only at night. On the 16th day, they take

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1. Melanasia, Newguinea, Philippines, South America, Polynesia, Migronesia.

bath and move freely about inside the house. During these days they are in pollution. They never touch others and vice versa.

A similar custom is prevalent among the Africans. During the days of puberty, Zulu girl covers her head with a blanket, so that the sun may not shine on her. She returns home after sunset and is secluded in a hut for some days.

In the island of Mubuiag, Torres straits, when signs of puberty appear, the girl concerned is asked to squat in a dark corner and bushes are piled so high round about her. Her head alone will be visible to ensure that the sun shall not shine on her.[1] But at night she can come out. This will continue for three months. At the end, she takes bath and moves into other parts of the house.

Observation of pollution and special ceremonies relating to puberty are common in both India and Africa.

Pollution on Menstruation:

Woman during menstruation will be asked to stay away separately from others for three days and three nights. During these days, their coming into kitchen, pūjā room and bed room are completely prohibited. They will not even be allowed to touch the vessels and utensils, clothes and so on except those spared for them to be used on such dates. The touching of a vessel is also treated as a pollution. The vessels used by them will be cleaned again by sprinkling water over them before they are used by others.

Some Dravidian tribes (Muthuvan and others) build shed to enable her a seclusion called *Muttu kudichi* for these women.

During these days, sexual relation is totally forbidden. Ancient foreign travellers admired this south Indian custom. Some people like Chinese, do not have such custom.[1]

Like the Dravidians, the African women (Basuku of Congo) adopt various such restrictions, some of which apply even to their husbands also.

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1. Anthropology in India. P. 123

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. Foreign Notices of South India. Tamil Translation. 1976. P. P. 208.

Olaudah Equaiano recollects his early travels to Edo and Ibo people of Africa. He says,

> Every woman too, at certain times, (during menstruation) was forbidden to come into a dwelling house, or touch any person, or anything we eat. I was so fond of my mother, I could not keep from her or avoid touching her at some of those periods in consequence of which, I was obliged to be kept with her in a little house made for that purpose, till offering was made for and then were purified. It is still customary for Ibo women to avoid normal dwelling houses during their menstrual periods and to sleep in small homes specially built for their use during these occasions.[1]

In weavers' communities, women are debarred from weaving because of their menstrual periods and a woman must not touch a loom ar speak directly to her husband if he is a weaver,[2] during menstruation.

The Gikuyus consider the three days immediately aftet menstruation to be a period most favourable for a woman to conceive. A similar belief is prevailing among the Dravidians also. Tolkāppiyar the great grammarian of Tamil (B. C) says, the twelve days after menstruation, the husband doesnot leave from his wife. (Karpiyal 46).

Female Partner as a Friend:

In both the continents the female partner is considered a friend. Thiruvaḷḷuvar, a second centurry Tamil genius calls wife as *thuṇaivi* i,e., companion. Basuka people of Congo named wife *fuana* which means friend, confidant.

Ceremony for Pregnancy:

All the people of South India celebrate a special ceremony for the first pregnancy. In Tamil it is called *Vaḷaikāppu* (Bangles wearing).[1] Though the woman already wears some bangles, at

1. Africa Remembered P. 80
2. Some book for African Anthropology. P, 644

1. *Vaḷaikāppu*: Ancient days bangles might be worn only after marriage or before the birth of the first child.

the time of this ceremony of vaḷaikāapu, special kind of bangles are worn. This ceremony is commonly celebrated in husband's house, usually in the fifth or seventh months of pregnancy. After this coremony, the pregnant lady will be taken to her parent's home and will stay there till the child's birth.

Similar ceremonies are reported from Africa also. After the announcement of the woman about her pregnancy to her husband or mother, a sacrifice of thanks to God is offered. Prayers are made for the good health of the mother and her baby. In Ashanti of west Africa, certain rituals to the God Nyame will be celebrated as the pre-birth rite which occur in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy.

Children are the Representatives of Ancestors:

Naming the Child:

Among the Tamils, after the birth of a child, naming festival will follow generally on or after the 16th day of delivery. People name this day as *Pathināṛupeyariitu* (naming on the sixteenth). Naming ceremony was prevalent even in early centuries. Cillappatikāram, a Tamil epic of 2nd century A.D., describes the naming ceremony, celebrated by Mādhavi and Kōvalan.

The Africans also have this ceremony. The seventh or eighth day after child birth, they celebrate the naming ceremony. The relatives of both the families assemble around the child. Following the custom, the new born child will be named after its ancestors.

Amoug the Tamils, the grand child bears the name of its grand parents. Therefore, grand children are called *peyaran* > pēran which means one who bears the name of his ancestor — grand father and *peyartti* pērtti which means one who bears the name of her ancestor — grand mother.

Naming the Child

Generally the Dravidians believe that their children are the real fore-fathers of their kindred. According to them, grand-

Before this ceremony, the woman might not wear bangles. Bangles might be a symbol of motherhood. Later days, the wearing bangles came to be considered a symbol of wifehood.

mothers reincarnate through grand-daughters and grand fathers through grand-sons. Therefore the children bear the names of their grand-parents. This is a common practice among all the groups of the Dravidians.

Similarly the African believe that their ancestors reincarnate through the infants of their own kindred.[1]

Waist Chord:

Dravidian Hindus, strictly follow the custom of tying a chord at the waist of their children. On the 16th day the parents would celebrate a ceremony. At that ceremony, the child's maternal uncle brings a chord made of silver or gold for the child. Wearing a waist cord is a common practice in South India. Christians and Muslims do not adopt this system strictly although there are a few exceptions which are nothing but their customary practice showing that they are converts from Hinduism to Christianity.

In Africa, to tie a waist chord particularly to the child is a common feature. The Ovimbundus are one among them.

Wife Suicide after Husband's Death:

After the death of the husband, the wife or the wives commit suicide. Some women jump over the funeral pyre of their husband and die. A few make separate pyre for this and they jump into it to die. This custom was widely prevalent in all parts of India. Chaste woman wants to follow her husband even in his death. They believe that they live with her husband even in the spiritual world. Death failed to separate them.

Voluntary Death:

Particularly, in South India, deep love was the reason for this. There was no compulsion whatsoever at any time or at any circumstances among the Tamils to this kind of death. But in North India, wives were compelled to die after the husband. This is called *Sati* in North India.

Ancient Tamil literature records the voluntary death of wife. Cilappathikāram and Maṇimēkalai the earlier twin epics of Tamil

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1. Some book for African Anthropology. P. 432.

discuss it elaborately. Queen Perunkōppeṇṭu of Pāndiya nādu, followed her husband after his death by jumping into the fire. A number of her companions and assistants, elders failed in their attempt to console her and with grief, she jumped into the fire and died. This incident occured at the beginning of the Christian era.

Events of such voluntary deaths of wives were prevalent among the Dahomians of west Africa. Dahomians believe that they pass into the land of spirits together. Sometimes dying husbands themselves express their last wish when they are nearing the last breath to death. Many of the wives were sacrificed to illustrate the filial piety of the heir.

Proof of chastity by fire bath:

Circumstances bring even Caesar's wife under suspicion. The suspicion on chastity is a disgrace to a woman. They must clear it. In ancient times, women, suspected of their chastity were asked to jump into the fire. It was believed that if they are above suspicion, they would come alive unburnt. Fire won't touch them. Otherwise they will die, the tongues of the fire will engulf them. Indians had a strong belief in this custom.

Śitā, the epic heroine of the epic Rāmāyaṇa the wife of Ramā, was kidnapped by king Rāvaṇa. Śitā was in Lankā of Rāvaṇa for several months together before she was released. After a long interval, Ramā came, saw and won Rāvaṇa. Śitā was released by her beloved husband. But Rāmā wanted Śitā that she should take fire-bath to prove her chastity to the world. Śitā obeyed Rāma's wish. But the fire never touched her body. She came alive from the fire.

In South Karnātākā of South India, the Koragas had this system. If a woman commits adultery, the husband builds a hut and puts the woman inside. Then the hut is set on fire. If the woman escapes, he builds six huts one after another and put her wife similarly and then sets fire. That woman must escape from these seven fire huts. Then only, she is considered to be a virtuous wife and fit to live with him.

Fire-bath to prove a woman's chastity was reported from Ethiopia. The Falasha of Ethiopia had this system. The Falasha

was called black jews because they were black, but their present religion is Judaism.

Falasha worship Goddess Sanbat and receives adortation and sacrifices. A woman guilty of unchastity has to be purified by leaping through flames.

Like the Dravidians, they have a custom to sacrifice a sheep on a fowl at the inaugural ceremony of a house. The blood of them would be spilt on the new house. In Tamilnādu once, human sacrifice was required. Afterwards, this system changed into the sacrifice of sheep or fowl. At present, these sacrifices also have disappeared. Instead of that a pumpkin with a human face drawn over it is kept in front of the house. At the time of the inaugural ceremony, the above pumpkin will be broken into pieces, which is made bloody in colour.

Unchastity leads to Husband's death:

The chastity of wife is always a must to her husband and society. If she looses her loyalty, husband meets death immediately. The fisherman community of Kerala has faith in this. Infidelity of a wife will cause her husband to die in the sea itself.[1]

The Africans too have this faith. While the husband is away for wood cutting, carving, journey, war or other duties, the wife's unchaste and unfaithful activities will bring death to her husband. Gikuyu of Kenya believes in this custom.[2] Ashanti wood carvers believe that unfaithfulness of their wives will cause them to cut themselves.

Mende people of Africa consider that shaking hands with another man's wife, to sit on the same mat with her to borrow a pipe *from her* and such other acts have all been considered equivalent to adultery. The Dravidian folks also believe so. Thiruvaḷḷuvar, (2nd century A. D.) condemns coveting another's wife, in strong words (chapter 15).

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1. "Chemmin" a novel in Malayalam by Thakazhi Sivasankaran Pillai, is based on this theme.

2. Facing Mount Kenya. P. 183.

A Seminar was conducted under the auspices of the Institute at 4 P.M. on Thursday the 9th October 1986 in Room No. 48, University Departmental Buildings, on "Tamil Contact in Ancient America". The following is a report of the Seminar.

Chairman : Prof. P. T. Thirugnanasambandham, M. A., L. T., Director, Institute of Traditional cultures, Madras-5.

Leader : Dr. G. Srinivasan, M. D., D. M. R., Radiation Oncologist.

The chairman introduced the Leader and called upon him to speak:

Dr. G. SRINIVASAN : "TAMIL CONTACTS FROM INDIA IN ANCIENT AMERICA".

Introduction

Columbus is given credit for discovery of Americas. Later it was found that Vikings had established settlements in pre Columbian America and it has been conceded that unrecorded trans oceanic contacts between old and new world could have occured in historic and pre historic times. This work details linguistic and other evidences for past Tamil contacts from India with Ancient America.

Brief History of Pre Columbian America

Historians are of opinion that man migrated into the new world of America from North Eastern Asia, eleven to Hundred thousand years ago and gave rise to varied cultures. The western world was not aware of the existence of this land mass until four centuries ago. But the American continents had not only existed before, but even had a more ancient and more glorious history than many other parts of the world.

The Mayan civilization flourished in Middle America from about 300 B. C. for about thousand six hundred years, which William Brandon ([1]) calls one of the highest civilizations in ancient histories of the entire world. Mayan cities BEGAN AND TIKAL were founded around 500 B. C. Tikal was 50 Sq. miles in area. Teotihuacan founded in 300 B. C. had at its height in 650 A. D. a population of two hundred thousand and had majestic public and presidential buildings, cement paved streets and underground drainage system (Josephy P. 30). The Mayan Calendar was 1/10,000th day per year more accurate than the calendar we use in our world today. Pan Andyan Empire in South America which took shape in about 600 A. D. and culminated in the rule of the great INCAS untill A. D. 1532 was more extensive than Roman Empire. The Aztecs dominated middle Americas from A. D. 1440 to A. D. 1519 from their Capital "Tenochtitlan" which was described by Spanish soldiers to be more dazzling and beautiful than Rome and Constantinople which they had defeated.

Alwyn Josephy ([2]) writes "these ancient civilization were so glorious that one wonders if they are the work of Non (American) Indians or no longer Indians".

American Indian Personality

About 2200 languages divided the American Indians. Some tribes (fortunately a few only) were extremely cruel and the *Carib* and *Tupinamba* even practised canibolism. On the other extreme, the ARAVAKAN tribe of South America was so peaceful that sixty thousand members of this tribe meekly allowed themselvs to be slaughtered by Caribs who invaded them, many by bows and arrows of enemy children. (Josephy P. 268).

Columbus wrote that "American Indians were willing to share everything, and refuse nothing. One has to see it to believe it", he said. Most European writer have described natives of America as most childlike, gentle, noble and highly evolved while parkman on the otherhand pictured American Indians as savages. "Man, wolf and Devil, all in one" (Brandon 3). Brandon himself says "We are not even all together confident as to who is savage and who is civilized'.

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1. William Brandon — Last Americans (P. 45)
2. Alwyn Josephy — Indian Heritage of America (P. 189).

Clash of the Races and Philosophies in the World

American Indians were absolutely willing to share anything and everything including the land, with everybody including with foreigners and hence warmly welcomed with open arms, Europeans who settled in large numbers in the newly discovered world of America. But soon the two civilizations clashed and ultimately the technically advanced Europeans and history once again proved that might was right.

"This conflict, Brandon says, was mainly a clash of philosophies. European morality and philosophy confers on pecple the right even to kill in defence of one's life and property while American Indian Philosophy was that "Land like the air and sea is the common property of all humanity and perhaps all living creatures". They could not comprehend the philosophy of private property, while the Europeans could not comprehend American Indian's philosophy and hence the clash.

Yes; the clash between American Indians and Europeans is over, but the clash of the two philosophies may not be over, may be even now clashing and flowe.ing into a compromised philosophy to bear fruit to entire humanity.

Impact of American Indian Philosophy in the Modern World

Brandon conveys that European Physically vanquished the American Indians; but the philosophy of American Indians infected revolutionary white America inspiring them to concede to every human being irrespective of his race, "the right life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" as enshirned in the declaration of independence on the birthday of America.

American Indian behaviour and philosophy sank deeply into the thought process of greatmen like Voltaire and Roussaeu and influenced their writings. Those writings were widely read and accepted with enthusiasm and fuelled public opinion against the tyranny of the Royalty and Nobility to be ignited as the French revolution which in turn immensely influenced subsequent European and world history.

"American Indian Philosophy, was the basis for Morgans, work" "Ancient Society" which made such an impact on "*Kari*

Marx" that it was accepted as a fundamental work and classic of socialistic literature and was included as a note by Marx's close associate "ENGELS" in the English version of the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO in 1888.

Brandon obviously is so much struck that he states "Indian behaviour not only may have profoundly affected the development of United States and the post Columbian world in the past, but is still to affect our future also."

PREVAILING CONCEPTS ON EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN INDIAN CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE

Most Historians agree that man migrated into the Americas from Asia more than ten thousand years ago.

Many Including William Brandon are of the opinion that American Indians subsequent contacts with the world were meagre and of no significance and that their culture had developed independently without old world influence. Brandon even thinks development has been in different direction[3]:

Josephy[4]. on the other hand is of opinion that culture may have come to Central America from somewhere beyond the Pacific Ocean, but does not suspect any particular location.

Count-de-Waidec[5]: of Germany thinks that many idols of Gods of precolumbian America had elephant heads and suspects Hindu influence.

Rivero and Tschundi[6]: says that the God 'Quetzal coatl' of middle American Indians and King 'Manco-pac' of South America were Buddhist missionaries from India.

Violet le Duc[7]:*and Chaman Lal* say Mayan and Indian Temples bear striking resemblances.

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3. Brandon (p. 74 — 75)
4. Josephy (p. 197)
5. Quoted by Anne ward — In adventures in Archaeology
6. Quoted by Sindhal D.P. — India and world civilization Vol II. (p. 47)
7. Quoted by Singhal (p. 48)

Magalony[8], a Mexican has stated that in ancient times a race settled in regions of Tibet and they were called 'Naga Mayas'.

Alanzo[9] also a Mexican, says arches present typically in Mayan Temples are also seen extensively in India and South East Asia. He also says that the written figures and pronunciations of numbers one to ten, is identical in languages of todays Nagas of India and ancient Mayas of Mexico and concludes 'Mayas of Mexico were ancient Nagas from India'.

Theme of this paper being read today and submitted to the Department of Traditional Cultures is that contacts existed between Tamils of Ancient India and precolumbian American India and that Kalubras or Nagas who originally hailed from land of Tamils settled among Mayas and Incas in middle and South America. It is pointed out here that Mayan administrative officers were known as 'NACOM' which means 'COBRA'. Nacom is Tamil word while the Sanskrit word is Naga.

Evidences for Tamil contacts in Ancient America linguistic evidences

Following are some of the American Indian words with their meanings. Their Tamil equavalents and explanations are given in brackets.

Ka[10]: in Mayan language means hand (KAI), KAL is neck (KALUTU), *Yak*: is tongue (NAKKU) *Katamaran* is boat KATAMARAM.

Ayar Inca. This is the name given to Inca rulers before Spanish conquest, (Ayar in ancient Tamil refers to a learned man or a teacher irrespective of his caste — Tamil dictionary meaning of INCAL is to enter and penetrate and will be appropriate if the "Incas" were from far off land who had settled in a different country.

Almehen[11]: in mayan language means a noble person. (Alum mahan would mean ruling son). *Apayo* means support. (Apayo (m) means sanctuary in Tamil and Sanskrit).

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8. Duarte Magaloni Ignacio — Educadores del, Mundo. B. Costa Amic.
9. Prof. Gualbarto Zapata Alanzo-An over view of the Mayan world.
10. Alanzo — An over view of the Mayan world.
11. Almehen — Michael de coe "The Maya" pelican books.

Cakchiquels[12] : Mayan organisation broke by about A.D. 900 and splinter groups fought one another in a power struggle. Their history was recorded by Spanish in an yearly publication known as "Annals of Cakchiquels". (Cakchy is party or group and Cakchical is its pleural in Tamil).

Zemi[13] : were idols of God worshipped by Arawaken tribe in South America. (In Tamil Sami means God and Arawakens were a very timid and docile tribe Arawakan means persons who speak half sentences.)

Waka, Huacan was the 'Supreme Spirit'. (In Tamil these words means person who has given a promise and could be connected with the Supreme).

Vira Cocha[14] : name of an American Indian God. It was also name of an Inca King. When white man landed in America they were called Vira Cochas and welcomed with open arms. (Vira in Tamil means Champion of Warrior and Cochan means a boy — Tamils favourite God is 'Murugan' in the form of a young boy).

Popologas[15] : name given to whitemen by American Indians, when cruelty and trachery of colonisers were experienced. (Papa (m) means sin and loga(m) is world or people).

Teo Tevakan[16] : (Spanish spelling is Teo tehuaken) is an ancient temple city in middle America, and meaning of this name is "Where Gods are made". (In Tamil Teo is close to Devu meaning "God" and Thuvakam mean beginning, that is where God takes his beginning).

Tezazo Moc[17] : is name of an Aztec ruler and meant in their language "Angrynstone face". (In Tamil and Sanskrit Tezas means luster and Muc means Face.)

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12. Josephy (p. 211).
13. Josephy (p. 232).
14. Josephy (p. 249).
15. Popologas — Singhal.
16. Singhal (p. 60).
17. Alice Kehoe North American Indians.

Teja Muci is a river in South America (Meaning is as given above).

Tona Tyuh[18], *Inti*[19] *and Coriconcha*[20] all three mean the sun. (Ton and Tona means ancient and Thee is fire. Inti is said to be connected with Tamil word 'Enroozh' and can refer to sun. Cori is an iron plate and concha means if heated.

Siriono[21] were short statured tribe of Bolivia. (Sirion in Tamil means small person.)

Ata Cula Cula[22] was a native leader in North America who was small in stature (In Tamil culla means a short man and Ata means "There".

Posol[23] is a poridge, Mayans had for breakfast. (In Tamil — 'Pusi' is to eat, Pusal is a quantity.)

Tamale[24], *Tamalipas*, *Tamelaiken* Tamale is an eatable prepared by grinding soaked maize and steaming it. (This is similar to Iddlis prepared by Tamils).

Tamalipas is a region in Mexico and Tamel Aeiken is a place in South America. (They all sound like the Tamil & Ken or Kun means eye and conveys the meaning "Tamil is the Apple of the eye").

Pulque[25], *Natema*[26]*—Maikoa*: These are names of intoxicating liquors by American Indians. (In Tamil PULUKA means to ferment, Pulicha means sour and Puli is Tamarind. NATEMA means strong smelling. MAYOKO(M) means intoxication or drunkenness).

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18. Singhal (p. 60).
19. Scientific American (July 83).
20. Science Digest (March 84).
21. Singhal (p. 49).
22. Ataculacula — Alice Kehoe.
23. Coe (p. 162).
24. Scientific American (April 84).
25. Alice Kehoe.
26. Brandon (p. 82).

Architectural evidences

As mentioned already Violet le due and Chamanlal have noted that Mayan and Indian Temples bear striking resemblances Tamils have constructed Monolythic Temples structures hewn from single rocks at Mamallapuram near Madras. Mayans had hewn such Monolithic structures at Copan (HONDURAS) Name Copan itself could have derived from Indian name Nanda Copan. A Monolythic gateway for sun has been built near lake Titicaca at Tiavanaco (Places with Tamil Sounding names in South America). Tamils had built temples at Thanjavur and Madurai. Similar structures have been built in Middle America at Teo Tehuakan and Chichen itza.

Similarities in Science and Mathematics

Mayas and Hindus were the two civilizations who are credited with the original concept of Zero and the decimal system.[27] They calculated movements of Planets and predicted Eclipsers. Mayan Calendar was 1/10,000th of a day more accurate than what we use in todays world.[28]

Cultural similarities

Customs of Ancient Mayas and even some contemporary Tamils desire marriage to One's Father's Sister's daughter or Mother's Brother's daughter, prohibiting certain other connections.[29] Both cultures had marriage brokers, and believed in astrology and auspicious times. Both cultures considered menstruating woman unclean.[30] Many Tamils and other Indians are vegetarians and Singhal says vegetarianism was practised in Middle America also.[31] Even in Ancient India, enlightened opinion never approved animal sacrifice[32] and in Middle America an American Indian ruler preached against animal sacrifice in the

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27. Josephy (p. 206).
28. Brandon (p. 45).
29. Native Americans 1977 2nd Edition (p. 469 & Coe (p. 169).
30. Brandon (p. 175).
31. Singhal (p. 68)
32. Basham

14th century A.D.[33] His name was NEZHUAL. His son's Name was NEZHUAL PILLI; pronounced NEZVAL PILLI: (Among Tamils Nesavalar means weaver and Pilli is a caste name and also means, son.

Spiritual Similarities

Brandon suspects that Majestic buildings constructed by Mayans were used for meditation only.[34] Tamils and other Indians practise meditation even today, and 'TAVAM' and 'TABAS' means meditation. There are places in Middle America with names 'TABASCO' and 'TEPESHPAN', which means "for meditations" and "Garden for meditation". Opposite of meditation is "auto hypnotising oneself and wildly dancing in extreme ecstasy".[35] This was practised by American Indians and even to this date by Tamils and other Indians. Both American Indians and Tamils believed in Destiny.

Ideological Similarities

Ideologies of ancient Tamils can be discerned from Sangam and other literature. Socialistic ideologies were adored and co-existed along with princely orders and private enterprise even about 2000 years ago in the land of the Tamils.

Human Dignity and Liberty :

இளிவரின் வாழாத மானம் உடையார்
ஒளிதொழுது ஏத்தும் உலகு.

"World will admire men who give up life for their self respect".

C. Rajagopalachari — KURAL — Thiruvalluvar p. 100. (Individual's liberty and dignity has been considered sacred and glorified by Tamils). Similarly Josephy (Page 35), says "Belief in freedom and Dignity of individuals was deeply ingrained in many Indian (American) societies———. Even when his people were fighting for their lives, a man could go his own way and do whatever seemed right to him"

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33. Brandon (p. 88)
34. Brandon (p. 80)
35. Brandon (p. 51)

Brotherhood of Man :

யாதும் ஊரே — யாவருங் கேளிர்

"Any place — My home, Anybody — My kith & kin". (Purananooru 192) (Poet has expressed his dream of cosmopolitan society in a one world with no national boundaries).

செல்வத்துப் பயனே ஈதல்

"Purpose of Wealth is for giving only"

இன்னோர்க் கென்னாது என்னோடுஞ் சூழாது வல்லாங்கு வாழ்து
மென்னாது நீயும் எல்லோர்க்குங் கொடு மதி

"Give it (Wealth) away with no discrimination. (Thiruvalluvar p. 33) (poet does not say give wealth to poor and needy. He advocates equal rights to one and all to wealth which is surplus amenties).

தாளாற்றித்தந்த பொருள் எல்லாம் தக்கார்க்கு
வேளாண்மை செய்தல் பொருட்டு

"Good men produce wealth by industry for use to society" (Thiruvalluvar p. 33). Similarly, socialistic ideologies prevailed among American Indian Societies. As mentioned already they belived that land like air and sea belonged to entire humanity and they were prepared to share everything including land with everybody including foreigners.

Rights of All Creatures Living :

Western world believes that creatures other than men are created for the use of man, while American Indians considered man as brother to all else living. (Josephy). This means they conceded to all living creatures as much right to live as men. Singhal says that vegetarianism was practised in Mexico also.

Even today many Indians including Tamils are vegetarians and believe in Ahimsa (non violence) and will not kill even for food.

To throw light on the ideology of ancient Tamils and on rights of animals, the following extracts from Silapathikaram are quoted and explained as an extreme example.

வாயிற் கடைமணிநடு நா நடுங்க
ஆவின் கடைநீர் நெஞ்சு சுடத்தான்
தன் அரும் பெறல் புதல்வனை
ஆழியின் மடித்தோன் (மனு நீதிச் சோழன்) (மதுரைக் காண்டம்
சிலப்பதிகாரம்)

"Gricvance bell trembles and rings
Tears of the cow flow like springs
Grief of the cow saddens the Royal Heart
Remorse and justice harden his heart
In retribution Prince beloved is executed
By the wheels of the Royal Chariot".

(Silapathikaram)

Perhaps this Royal Prince had been warned by the King many times for his utter callousness towards dumb animals. Finally when a calf was killed by such a callousness, Manu Neethi Chola King's heart was so much overwhelmed by the mother animal's grief, and sense of justice that he ordered the execution of his own beloved prince.

Philosophical Similarities

In many religions, God is conceived as a masculinefigure and a heavenly father. But in Hindu's and American Indian concept of God there is dualism — father figure as well as mother figure. To Hindus "Sakthi" is mother figure and "sivam" is father figure — Omeihuatli[36] ('h' is silent), is Aztec God with dualism, 'Ome' is feminine God of silence; ometeotl is ultimate nature of universe and is self generating.[37] Universe is formed by elements like Earth, Water, Fire and Air. Both believed in cyclical destruction of earth.[38] Hindus call each period as a "Yuga" or "Yugam". A region in middle American is named "Yucatan".

Traditional Similarities

Cobra Worship : was practised traditionally among Tamils and American Indians. Cobra is worshipped among Tamils even to this date.

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36. Alice Kehoe
37. Alice Kehoe (P. 81)
38. Kehoe (P. 80)

* *Folk Lore* among Tamils says, that after a certain age serents develop feathers and can fly. American Indian God QUETZAL COATL also is described as a feathered serpent.[39]

As per another folk lore Cobras sometimes suck milk out of breasts of nursing mothers. Interestingly this folk lore is described to be prevalent in India and South America only, as per Encylopeadia. AMERICANA — Page 101 — Volume25.

Sea Travels : Fishermen in India roam over the seas in Kattamaram which are logs of wood tied together (In Tamil 'Maram' is log of wood and 'Kattu' means to tie.) These are used in India, South America and the Indies-Websters IIIrd New International dictionary).

Dedication of Teenage Daughters to Temples : Tamils dedicated their beautiful daughters to temples as 'Devadasis' or Servants to God. Similarly Mayas offered their beautiful teenage daughters to their Rain God Tlaloc (Loca Tala in Tamil means Head of world), whose abode was called Cenote[40] (In Sanskrit and Tamil residence of Hindu idols is known as "Sannathi" — Sanctom Sanctorum.

Self Inflication After Vows : Aztees tore their tongue and ears and pierced their flesh with sharp hooks after taking vows. Tamils even to this date pierce their cheek and tongue with sharp iron rods — Recently two persons pulled a lorry by chains attached to hooks piercing their skin in their backs and this was shown in Television programme in year 1986.

Udan Kattai : In parts of India when kings died, their queens also practised ending their lives with their husbands. This was known as 'Udan Kattai' in Tamil and 'Satee' elsewhere in India. Similarly queens of Inca rulers Bedecked themselves with the best of their dresses and jewelleries, voluntarily got intoxicated and arranged for them to be strangled and buried with their dead husbands.[41]

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39. Brandon (P. 63).
40. Josephy (P. 211) Anneward in "Adventures in Archaeology)
41. Brandon (P. 78)

Self Immolation

Some Tamil Pallavan kings offered their own heads to Goddess 'KOTRAVAI'[42] in gratitude for victories in war. In 1984, Newspaper Hindu of Madras reported that when Tamil Nadu Chief Minister was seriously ill, fifteen of his admirers immolated themselves as offering before God, praying to save his life.

Similarly many Aztecs voluntarily and happily allowed themselves to be sacrificed. "Quickly slay me, Trample me with thy feet; may my body come to rest", was an ancient Mexican prayer.[43]

Chillambalam[44]

In Tamil country Chidambaram also known as Chitrambalam is a Temple Town and mystery is associated with this temple. Similarly mystery is associated with Chillambalam of the Mayas also.

SOME MORE TAMIL SOUNDING WORDS WHICH MAY BE DUE TO PREVIOUS CONTACTS OR SHEER COINCIDENCES.

WARI (SSp IS HUARI) was the military head quarters of the PAN ANDYAN EMPIRE and had a GREAT WALL surrounding it. Tamil Dictionary meaning of Wari is a wall. Exactly West of Wari is 'Chillon Valley' and in Tamil dictionary Chillom means West. Exactly east to Wari is CUZCO, and this may be altered as Kizaku which means East. East of PERU is the extensive country 'BRAZIL' and the Tamil dictionary meaning of PRASI is 'East' and Prasil means 'In East'.

An ancient population migrated South wards from North Mexico. They called themselves 'TENNOCHA'. (In Tamil 'THEN' is South and 'NOKI' is towards). They settled around a lake which they called 'TEXCOCO' (IN Spanish 'X' can be pronounced as 'H' or 'SH'. (If pronounced as Teckoko (M) it means SOUTHERN HOME in Tamil). They built two cities by the lake; one they called 'TENOCHT ITLAN' (TENNAHO (M) also means SOUTHERN HOME). The other city was called 'TLATILCO'. (TALA' MEANS HEAD and 'TILOCO (M)' is the religious mark in fore head of Hindus, and can convey meaning of "BEAUTIFUL SPOT").

American Indian Pantheon: ATAN & AATAN means God in Tamil (Kazhaga Tamil Dictionary). Atal means Mother and Goddess Parvathy (Kathivaiver Pillai Tamil language Dictionary). KALIATAL and MARIATAL are Tamil Goddess of today also. Following are names of American Indian Gods. Many of them ending in 'ATL':—

TLAZOTEOTI — God who eats filth, that denotes fire (TALA = CHIEF, JOTI = FLAME & ATAL = GODDESS).

OMETEOTL (KEHOC P 8) is the ultimate nature of universe and is self generating as per Aztec philosophy. (AMAITHI means absolute silence).

OMECIVATL (SSp — OMCIHUATL) = (OME — CIVA — ATAL).

aztecteotl — GOD OF AZTEC

ITZACOATL — ITCHA = WISH).

QUETZALCOATL — A PLEASANT GOD (KUSOL = JOY)

KUKULKUN — ANGRY GOD (KUKUL = SPITTING, KUN = EYE) SPIT FIRE EYE, III Eye of Angry Siva).

TIALOC — RAIN GOD (LOC, LOCAM = WORLD, TIA, TALA = CHIEF).

COYALSAXI — A GODDESS (COYAL = FISH, SAHI = CONSORT).

MOOL CHAC — AN ANGRY GOD (MOOLA CHAKRAM = HINDU RELIGIOUS SYMBOL IN COPPER PLATE).

Name of Inca Kings: ATHUALPA (ATI VALLAPPA) — URCON (SUN) — PACHACUTI — VIRA COCHA (VIRA KURCHA was a Pallava King) — UPANQUI — MANCO PACTUPAC AMARU. Famous Inca fighters were known as CHACHAPOYA[45] (WHICH MEANS IN TAMIL — FOR YOUR DEATH). Incas called their land *TAVANTIN SUYU* (OR JUYU) TAVANTIN CAN mean (devoted effort and SUYU[46] can mean life and JUYU can mean success). Inca ruled the

45. Brandon (p. 75).

46. Singhal.

local population by experimenting and reorganising the Administration by settling in strategic places group of families loyal to the rulers. These settlements were called AYLLU.[47] AYVU in Tamil is research and Ullam means a place and *Ayul* refers to life.

Evidences from Indian History

In today's India, Nagaland is in the North East. But original home land of NAGAS was in all probability in ancient South India. Following Evidences are putforth in support of this statement.

COBRA (NAGA) worship was and is prevalent among ancient and todays Tamils. Places like Nagapattinam, Nagerkoil and Nagoor exist in Tamil Nadu. (PATTINAM and OOR means towns and KOIL means Temple in Tamil). Thirty one names of persons with sylable 'NAGA' in their names can be picked from Madras Telephone Directory. Twenty five such names in addition were names of ancient Tamil Poets. (ARAVANAN[48]) Fifty six in all. Nagas as a distinct sect are described in ancient Tamil literature, and were known as fearless fighters and were employed by Tamil Kings as soldiers and commanders.

Nagas, Kalubras, Kallars Colabrus and Cobras: ALANZO states that MAYAS of ancient Mexico were NAGAS from India. The origin and subsequent history of KALUBRAS is a mystery to historians until today. In PERU in South America, there is a place known as COLUBRA(S) in all probability named after the KALUBRA(RS) of South India. KALLARS[49] are said to be descendents of NAGAS. Name of Tamil KALLAR community could have been derived from word KALUBRAR. In Medical toxicology COBRAS are described as belonging to Colubrine family, and Colubra is serpent.[50]

In word COLUBRA if letter 'L' is made silent the word will pronounce 'COUBRA' which means 'NACOM' in Tamil. Word

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47. Brandon (p. 79).
48. ARAVANAN — Tamizharin Tayagam (p. 92).
49. Ayirathennooru anduukatku murpatta Tamizhaga, (p. 82).
50. Coe (p. 171).

Kalubras is written in Tamil as களப்பிர(ர்) if written as கொளப் பிர(ர்). It can be read as COUBRA(R) also which is English word for 'NACOM'.

AND SURPRISINGLY 'NAGOM'[51] WAS THE NAME GIVEN TO MAYAN ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS.

Evidences from World Atlas

In Brtholomew world atlas, 342 names of places, rivers etc., which sound like Tamil are recorded. When analysed, 53% of such Tamil sounding names are located in the Americas while Indonesia where Indian culture is known to have spread extensively has only about 6% of such names.

If 6% of such names in Indonesia are due to previous contacts, should not 53% of similar Tamil and other Dravidian sounding names in Americas be all the more due to previous contacts between South Indians and Ancient American Indians?

Following are names of places, rivers etc in the Americas which are present in India also or have meaning in Indian languages, mostly Tamil.

Names of Places: ARANI, ARATI, BECAN, CONCHI, CARAVELA, CARUTAPERA, CARACARAI, CARUPANO, CASIPORE, CAUCA, CUCUTA, CUERNAVACA, CUMANA, SAMANA, ITAIPU, ITAIJAI, MATURA, MARAKANA, MANI, MITLA, MATAVERI, MACHUPICHU, MAYAPAN, MAJA TENENGO, QUESOL TENENGO (MAJA is joy in Hindi while KUSAL is joy in Tamil). TENENCINGO, TULACINGO, CHILPANCINGO, MATIACINGO, JALACINGO, PARJNARI, PARACADU, PALNIQUE, PASSAMAQUODDY, TEXCOCO, TENOCHITLAN, TLATILCO, TEOTEHUACAN, TAMALIPAS, TAMILAIKEN, TIKAL, TULA, VANACO, VANCHACO, VANCAYO, YUCAMANI, KADIRMANI, ILLIMANI, URUKU, URUSANGA, URUGARAI(UR) is present in Iraq also which is in region of ancient Sumeria. 'UR' and 'OOR' means town in Tamil and this is one of the evidences for connecting ancient histories of Tamils and Sumerians).

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51. Webster's New International Dictionary.

Names of Rivers: CAUDARI, MARANAN, MANAS, MANU, MAULE, PARANA, PURUS, PATUCA, PUTUMAYO, TEJAMUCI, UCAYALI, ULUA, USUMA, CINTA.

Conclusion

It is agreed that some or many of the linguistic and phonetic similarities detailed above could be due to sheer coincidences. But certainly it is highly impossible that the entire lot had occurred due to sheer coincidences only. If so there should have been contact between Tamils and American Indians in the past. Whether these similarities are due to borrowings or genetic relations cannot be definitely stated at this stage.

Pre Columbian contacts could have taken place as recently as in 15th century when *Nezval Pilli* ruled the Aztecs-vide Tamil meanings explained already. Names with Tamil and Indian resemblences given below also could have entered Middle America during comparatively recent period — 'Cerezo Arevalo' — Chief of intelligence of Guatemala. 'Ceraz' mean head 'AREVALAN' means intellectual). 'ARRIVILIAGA' member of Hoduran Congress. EDGENDO CANAVATI (GANAPATI is an Indian and Tamil God). Lingam — Mayor of LIMA. (LINGAM is symbol of God Shiva). KARIYAN, KATHAN, ALACRAZ, MANI, BALAM — These are all Tamil names.

Such contacts could have occured in pre-Christian era also. Tikal and BECAN and TEO TIUAKAN were cities built in about 700 B.C. and these have Tamil Meanings.

If there rises a question as to how anciently Tamil American Indian contacts could have possibly occured, it could be as early as when IZTAPAN got its name. Geological position of IZTAPAN[52] mammoths and the artifacts with them suggest a date of about 8000 B.C. that is TEN THOUSAND YEARS ago. 'APAN' IZTAPAN can be of Tamil origin. Apan means father or God.

IF SO THIS CONTACT SHOULD HAVE OCCURRED WHEN IZTAPAN GOT ITS NAME:

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52. Alicekehoe — North American Indians

(American Indian proper nouns are usually written in Spanish spelling).

Hence following Key[53] is to be used as guide for pronounciation)

OA to be pronounced wah Huey to be pronounced way
Hua to be pronounced wa Xa to be pronounced Sha or ha
Hui to be pronounced as we H to be pronounced Usually silent

53. Foot prints of Tamils from India in Ancient America — page 6

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a Seminar on 'IMPACT OF ANNIE BESENT ON INDIAN CULTURE' at 4.15 P. M. on Tuesday, the 30th April 1985 in Room No. 48, University Departmental Buildings. Thiru C. R. N. Swamy, led the Seminar. Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandham, M.A., L.T., Director, presided. The proceedings of Seminar are given below:

C. R. N. SWAMY

Annie Besant was one of the world's greatest personalities of the 19th and 20th centuries, who made an indelible mark on the history of her time. In the first two decades of this century her name was a household word in every Indian home and millions of Indians almost worshipped her for what she was doing for the material, moral and spiritual regeneration of their motherland. Public memory, however, is so short that the present generation of the youth of India knows very little of the glorious part she played as one of the greatest builders of modern India. To her was given the unenviable task of breaking the ground and digging deep the foundations of the New India of her dreams. As we all know, comparatively little notice is taken of those who work on the foundations underground, whereas the building of the imposing superstructure draws the attention and admiration of everyone. This was the lot of Annie Besant and her worthy colleagues on whom fell the heavy responsibility of giving the right orientation and the necessary strength and stability of the Temple of the new Indian renaissance. Not that Annie Besant, or her colleagues, sought any recognition or reward for their pioneering efforts, but it is good that we remember with gratitude all that they did, and particularly the direction which they gave to the national movement which paved the way for the new cultural and spiritual renaissance of our beloved motherland.

Even those who did not have the privilege of seeing Annie Besant while she was alive and have seen her only in pictures, cannot but be struck by her majestic and regal bearing; a person

of such tremendous power, and at the same time of such charming beauty and grace. Every time I see one of her pictures I am reminded of Bernard Shaw's witty remark that she became the President of the world-wide Theosophical Society because she could not well be the Queen of England.

Born on the 1st of October 1847, in London, of an English father and a mother who was half Irish, she was proud of her Irish blood. England and Ireland were 'home' to her until she found her real home in India. We may say that she was physically English, emotionally and ideologically Irish and culturally and spiritually Indian.

She grew up as a devout Christian and she says her passionate love of religion made her wish she could die a martyr for truth as Jesus Christ did. She was made of a heroic mould and she distinguished herself as a warrior soul fighting against injustice and tyranny of every kind; but the religious spirit was what was uppermost in her make-up. Her love of religion was to some extent responsible for her marrying, at the age of twenty, an orthodox Christian priest. She threw herself heart and soul into the work of the Church, but there was a deeper side to her nature which was dormant and which could not be ignored. She did not want merely to believe what the Church and the Bible said; she wanted proof of what was said by them. The mystic element in her kept her rooted in a firm faith in the invisible and the intangible, but she revolted against the compulsions of the Christian Church to accept blindly all its doctrines and dogmas under threats of punishment in an eternal hell. Her husband insisted that she should accept the Church without question and keep up the orthodox conventions even if she herself did not believe in them, because it would not do to undermine the faith of his congregation by her bad example. To Annie Besant this was sheer hypocrisy and the more insistent her husband, the more her doubts about Christian dogmas began to swell.

At this stage her infant girl fell seriously ill with whooping cough. Annie Besant spent sleepless nights watching her child get worse and worse until all its strength was gone and the doctor had given up all hope. She prayed as she had never prayed before. Each spasm seemed to be the last. Watching her suffering child in agony and finding no answer to her anguished

prayers, she began to question the ways of Providence. Why should such innocent children suffer? If God is good and still let them suffer He cannot be all-powerful; if all-powerful and yet let the child suffer, He could not be all merciful, loving and kind. Her faith in God snapped and she became an agnostic, 'one without God' — not an atheist who asserts that there is no God, but one who honestly says 'I do not know whether there is God or not'. The child, however, recovered, but her faith in God was lost. This led to her leaving the Church and to her being expelled from her home, and even to her being deprived of the custody of her two little children. This was the price which she had to pay to assert the integrity of her soul.

In her admirably written 'Autobiography' Annie Besant says: 'I went out into the darkness alone, not because religion was too good for me, but because it was not good enough; it was too meagre, too commonplace, too little exacting, too bound up with earthly interests, too calculating in its accommodations to social conventionalities.'

With her own children taken away from her, her love for them overflowed as love for every child, for everyone who was weak and helpless, for every animal, bird or even trees and plants. Having lost her faith in a beneficent deity, she said man's salvation must come from himself. She plunged herself in social service of every kind. She became closely associated with Charles Bradlaugh, the foremost freethinker of those times and fought side by side with him to undo the great injustice which was done to him by denying him his right to occupy the seat in Parliament to which he had been elected, merely because he refused to take his oath on God and the Bible, though under the law he could make an affirmation. This seat was declared vacant and a re-election was ordered in which he was again elected. He was thus elected, again and again, till he was finally allowed his seat. All this fight was carried on purely through constitutional means without recourse to any 'direct action' or the breaking of any laws, and this was the method of action Annie Besant adopted when she took up the cause of Indian Home Rule.

Annie Besant was a warrior soul fighting against every injustice whether to individuals or nations. She felt the great injustice Britain had done to India by depriving her of her freedom.

So she fought the mighty British Government though she herself was British by birth. Hers was not the narrow patriotism which says 'My country, right or wrong'. She had the wider visoin and sense of fair play to say 'My country — may she be always right; but if she goes wrong, may I have the courage to fight her'.

Annie Besant was acknowledged as one of the greatest orators of her day, but first and foremost she was a woman of action. She passionately declared: 'Better to remain silent, better not even think, if you are not prepared to act.' It was she who converted the Indian National Congress, during her term as its President, from being a mere annual conference that passed pious resolutions, appealing to the British Government for various concessions, into a formidable instrument of action that championed the cause of India's freedom as her birthright. She was a born organizer and spared neither herself nor others, working often sixteen hours a day or even more and crowding into each hour work which would take others many hours to accomplish.

Annie Besant became closely associated with Fabian Socialism led by Bernard Shaw, Sydney and Beatrice Webb, Lord Oliver and others, and with leaders of the British Labour Party like Ramsay Macdonald — and this again was of much help in later years for her work for Indian freedom.

But all the while, in spite of the way in which she sought to forget herself in work for others, there was a certain spiritual emptiness which nothing could fill. Besides agnosticism and free thought she had made researches into spiritualism, hypnotism and various other fields in order to find solutions to the mystery of life and death and understand the nature of the Ultimate Reality. It was at this time that her friend, W.T. Stead, Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, put in to her hands the two bulky volumes of Madame H.P. Blavatsky's 'The Secret Doctrine' saying: 'Can you review these? My young men all fight shy of them, but yon are quite mad enough on these subjects to make something of them.' I would like to quote at some length the effect these two volumes had on Annie Besant, because it is most crucial to an understanding of the inner spiritual aspect of her life and work. She says, in her 'Autobiography':

'Home I carried my burden and sat me down to read. As I turned over page after page the interest became absorb-

ing; but how familiar it seemed; how my mind leapt forward to presage the conclusions; how natural it was, how coherent, how subtle, and yet how intelligible. I was dazzled, blinded by the light in which disjointed facts were seen as parts of a mighty whole, and all my puzzles, riddles, problems, seemed to disappear. The effect was partially illusory in one sense, in that they all had to be slowly unravelled later, the brain gradually assimilating that which the swift intuition had grasped as a truth. But the light had been seen and in that flash of illumination I knew that the weary search was over and the very Truth was found.'

This is perhaps one of the most lucid and beautiful descriptions of the experience in which material knowledge is transmuted into spiritual wisdom.

In this connection I should like to bring to your notice an account of a similar experience recorded by another aspirant of the Divine Wisdom, Dr. J.J. Van der Leeuw, in his book 'Gods in Exile'. In a short Foreword of less than seven lines the author says:

> 'The following pages are based on the awakening of Ego-Consciousness which came to me some little time ago. It brought with it knowledge which — though it came in but a single moment — has taken many days to realize and many pages to describe.'

The basis of Indian culture is this kind of mystic experience which our ancient Rishis had obtained and which came to Annie Besant in a flash on studying The Secret Doctrine — an insight into a Wisdom which is eternal, universal and immutable, beyond the realms of time and thought and so instantaneous.

The first volume of the Secret Doctrine — on Cosmogenesis, the origins of the Cosmos — begins with the following verse from the Rig Veda:

> 'Who knows the secret? Who proclaimed it here? Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang? The Gods themselves came later into being. Who knows from whence all this great creation sprang? That whence all this great

creation came, 'Whether its will created or was mute. The Most Highest Seer that is in highest heaven, He knows — or perchance even He knows not.'

Then comes the positive assertion:

'Gazing into eternity
Ere the foundations of the Earth were laid

* * * *

Thou wert. And when the subterranean flame
Shall burst its prison and devour the frame,
Thous shall be still as Thou wert before
And know no change, when time shall be no more
O, endless thought, divine ETERNITY.'

It is in this Divine Eternity that Indian culture — the Sanātana Dharma — has its roots. The Vedas speak of it as the great Aswattha tree having its roots above and spreading its branches below, all round. Every culture in every part of the world is a living branch of that living and growing tree of Sanātana Dharma, the Eternal and Divine Wisdom.

In the Poem, Madame Blavatsky set out and commented on the three Fundamental Propositions of the Secret Doctrine, the Gupta Vidyā, which form the basis of all Indian culture:

I. An Omnipresent, Eternal, Boundless and Immutable PRINCIPLE on which all speculation is impossible as it transcends the power of human conception and can only be dwarfed by any human expression or similitude. It is beyond the range and reach of thought — in the words of the Māṇḍūkya (Upanishad) 'unthinkable and unspeakable'. She speaks of it as 'Be-ness' rather than 'Being'.

II. The Eternity of the Universe *in toto* as a boundless plane; periodically the playground of numberless Universes incessantly manifesting and disappearing, called the 'Manifesting Stars' and the 'Sparks of Eternity'. The Eternity of the Pilgrim is like 'a wink of the Eye of Self-Existenee'. ... The appearance and disappearance of worlds is like a regular tidal ebb of flux and reflux.

III. The fundamental identity of all souls with the Universal Oversoul, the latter being itself an aspect of the Unknown Root; and the obligatory pilgrimage for every soul — a spark of the former — through the Cycle of Incarnation, or Necessity, in accordance with cyclic and Karmic Law during the whole term.

Thus it was through Madame Blavatsky's *mgnum opus*, 'The Secret Doctrine' that Annie Besant stepped into the vast vistas of the Eastern Wisdom and particularly of Indian thought and culture. She said goodbye to agnosticism and Free Thought, sought out Madame Blavatsky and became her disciple and later the pupil of Madame Blavatsky's own Guru, the Rishi Morya, at whose instance, inspiration and guidance she had founded the Theosophical Society and established its International Headquarters at Adyar in India.

Annie Besant's love for India and work for India's regeneration began long before she set foot on Indian soil on 6th November 1893, shifted her activities to India and made India her home. As early as 1879 she had published a book 'England, India and Afghanistan' with a subtitle 'A Plea for the Weak against the Strong'. It was a scathing exposure of the many many injustices the Tory Government of England had inflicted on India; how the rampant corruption and wrong polices deliberately adopted by officers of the East India Company and the Government had denued India of its fabulous wealth and reduced it to a state in which during the notorious Bengal Famine of 1770 ten millions of human beings died a miserable death through starvation. She spoke of India's agony as kingdom after kingdom was annexed by the British. Treaties of frindship were made with the independent rulers of the country promising non-interference with the internal affairs of their kingdoms. In her book Annie Besant says: 'For some fifty years (from 1800 A.D.) English annexation in Hindustan had been remarkably rapid. This annexation ran through a well-defined cycle. First, an English Resident; then advice urgently pressed; than complaint of misgovernment constantly published; then interference; then compulsion; then open annexation.' All this injustice brought forth the greatest condemnation from Annie Besant who was educating the British public as to the way in which their government was exploiting and enslaving an ancient people with a glorious culture of their own.

When Annie Besant arrived in India she found the situation in the country was worse than she had imagined. Lord Macaulay who may be said to be the founder of the system of modern English education in India, maintained that 'the whole of Indian literature was not worth a single shelf of a good European Library'. No wonder that the system he designed produced a class of persons 'Indian in colour, but English in tastes, in morals and intellect'. Sir George Birdwood has this to say of the results of that system:

> 'Our (English) education has destroyed their love of their own literature. ... and worst of all, their repose in their own traditional and national religion. It has disgusted them with their own homes, their parents, their sisters, their very wives. It has brought discontent into every family so far as its baneful influences have reached.'

'Its sinister shadow,' he continues, involves 'a slow poisoning of their spiritual life.'

Sri Ananda Coomaraswamy, who quotes the above passage in one of his lectures, goes on to say: 'I suppose there could be no better proof of all these things than is afforded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's pathetic confession, "I have become a queer mixture of East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere".' 'These are not the words of a free man, as Gandhiji's always are, but the marks of a terrible soul-sickness', concludes Coomaraswamy. This was the India to which destiny brought one who counted no endeavour too difficult, no sacrifice too high, to restore India to her ancient glory. Many of her own patriotic sons and daughters had almost given up all hope when Annie Besant appeared on the scene with the reassurance, 'Your mother is not dead; she is only asleep' and with the slogan 'Wake Up, India'. With her tremendous energy and matchless eloquence she toured the length and breadth of the country, electrifying the Indian people with a new hope and a new spirit of dedicated service and sacrifice. She made sacred Kasi (Veranasi) the spiritual heart of India, her headquarters. She realized that the genius of India lay in religion and that any scheme for the regeneration of India must start with a religious revival. She learnt Sanskrit and made a translation of the Bhagavad Gītā which is considered one of the most authentic translations of this great

scripture of the Hindus. The Christian missionaries were distributing free copies of the Bible to all students who passed the matriculation examination and Annie Besant insisted on all Hindu students being presented with copies of the Gītā. She poured forth a wealth of knowledge which amazed her hearers and the learned Pandits of Benares hailed her as a personification of Śaraswati, the Goddess of Wisdom. Her books like 'Hints on the Study of the Bhagavad Gītā', 'The Wisdom of the Upanishads', 'Introduction to Yoga', 'The Ancient Wisdam', 'A Study in Consciousness', 'The Self and its Sheaths', 'Life after Death', 'Reincarnation', 'Karma' and 'Avatāras' brought the essential teachings of Hinduism to the attention of educated Indians ignorant of Sanskrit, who marvelled at the treasures of their own religion which they had never known. While she paid the greatest attention to Hinduism she did not overlook the need for the revival of the other religions of the country. A series of lectures delivered at one of the International Conventions of the Theosophical Society was published under the title 'Seven Great Religions' covering Hinduism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Sikhism, bringing out the beauties of each faith and the essential identity of the basic teachings of all of them. I may mention that while the first object of the Theosophical Society is to form a nucleus of the Universal Brotherhood of humanity without distinctions of race, creed, sex, caste or colour, its second object is to encourage a camparative study of religion, philosophy and science as a means of doing away with misunderstandings which separate man from man by demonstrating the validity of the basic truth on which Indian culture is founded, namely, the declaration 'Ekam Sat, Viprāḥ Bahudhā Vadanti'; 'Reality is only One; the learned ones speak of it in various ways.'

The message of the Gītā,

> Ye yathā mām prapadyante
> Tānstathaiva bhajāmyaham

(By whichever path men approach me, by that path I welcome him) is fundamental to Hindu thought and culture. It is this spirit, not merely of widest tolerance, but positive appreciation of every religion as an expression of the one Divine Wisdom which made India welcome with open arms the various religions which came to her from abroad to add to the many reli-

gions and philosophies born on her own soil. In spite of the exploitation of religion by political forces which resulted in the division of the country and the creation of the theocratic Muslim state of Pakistan, India is still the country which has the second largest Muslim population in the world — next only to Indonesia. India has thus successfully upheld her secular character. This is in keeping with her traditional culture based on the principle of 'Unity in Diversity' in which — while the uniqueness of every religion, every philosophy, every language, every kind of customs and manners, every way of dress is given full scope of expression — the Indian genius creates out of all the diversity a unity which is characteristically Indian. This is what Annie Besant has to say of the India of the future:

> 'The Indian nation of the future is not to be a nation of one single religion only, but to embody the essence of all religions; it will have in it the philosophy of Hinduism; the valour and learning of Islam; the purity of Zoroastrianism; the love and tenderness of Buddhism; the self sacrifice of Christianity. ... Every view of God is added to the views already held, and so, however infinite the perfection of God Himself, more and more knowledge of that perfect Being will come to India through the many religions born on its soil and nourished by itself.'

We are passing through times in which the fissiparous tendencies based on religious differences are once again exploited for political ends and we need now more than ever the Besant spirit of universal harmony.

Annie Besant had gathered round her an eminent group of dedicated scholars and workers and in 1898, after much careful planning, she founded the Central Hindu College in Benares and a girls' school which has become the Women's College of Benares. Her lectures to the students formed the basis of such books as 'Sri Ramachandra, the Ideal King'; 'Mahābhārata, the Story of the Great War'; 'The Universal Textbook of Religion and Morals'; 'The Sanātana Dharma' Elementary and Advanced Textbooks; and innumerable pamphlets on various aspects of education stressing particularly the need for religious and moral education, free of all narrow and sectarian prejudices and superstition, in schools and colleges. Sarojini Devi, 'the nightingale

of India', thus sums up the reaction of the youth of India to Annie Besant's leadership and eloquence: 'To my young romantic fancy this dazzling pilgrim from the West, with the glamour of her radiant presence and magic of her golden speech, seemed the living embodiment of all the brave and splendid women of old Greek and Norse and Gaelic Legend, offering proud and joyous homage to the eternal genius of India.' She was voicing the feelings of the voiceless millions of India when she paid this tribute to Annie Besant 'In token of love and homage to her whose radiant Spirit rekindled India's faith in her own ideals and destiny'.

I would like to touch on an other aspect of Annie Besant's character which reveals the true Indian spirit of a Karma Yogin. She had built up the College and its associated collegiate schools by bringing most distinguished and selfless workers from the East and the West, bearing year after year the heavy financial burden, and making good its deficits from her personal funds. The College and the Schools had won a great reputation when the cry was becoming more and more insistent for national education on national lines and according to the national genius, based on the national culture; also for a National University. When the Government was approached they said 'Where is the College to serve as the nucleus of the proposed Univesity?' The organizers, under Madan Mohan Malavya, approached Annie Besant. Mr. Hirendranath Dutta, one of the co-trustees of the College with Annie Besant says: 'Some of us tried to dissuade her from giving it up. We argued, "We have built the Central Hindu College by our efforts and have worked these many years until it has become a splendid institution. Why should we give it up to the promoters of the Hindu University and allow them to reap where we have sowed?" What was Mrs. Besant's answer? "We have built up the Central Hindu College to serve the Indian nation and if the nation's welfare requires our extinction we should not grudge the sacrifice," and she carried her point in spite of our opposition.

Annie Besant succeeded Colonel Olcott as President of the Theosophical Society in 1907 and shifted the main centre of her activities to the International Headquarters of the Society at Adyar, Madras, and Benares became the Headquarters of the Indian Section. There was a rapid expansion in every Depart-

ment of her activites. She hed realized the importance of temple worship and had renovated a dilapidated Siva temple adjacent to the Theosophical Society at Varanasi. The Society, under her leadership, did much to rid orthodox religions of their wrong doctrines and dogmas and particularly superstitious beliefs and practices. There was reform of Hindu rituals and ceremonies spearheaded by an organization called the Bhārata Samāja, for which non-denominational temples with no idol (with only a living flame in the holy of holies) were built in Adyar and in Varanasi and worship conducted with only the most essential and sacred mantras.

Colonel Olcott had built up the famous Adyar Library for which he had collected rare manuscripts from all over the world. The Library now contains more than 18,000 manuscripts in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Persian, Aramic, Arabic and other similar sacred and classical languages and the Pandits of the Library were bringing out in English and other modern languages translations of the original texts. Under Annie Besant's guidance thousands of copies of the daily practice (Sandhyā), congregational temple worship (Nitya Pūjā Vidhānam), Vedic Upanayana and Marriage and other rituals in simple form with translations in English were printed and distributed by the Samāja to let the Hindus know the meanings of the rituals they performed and rid the people of the dominance of the priests who exploited their credulity and ignorance.

The main objects of the Bhārata Samāja were:

(a) To study the Sanātana Dharma and make its teachings available to all;

(b) To investigate the scheme of Hindu rituals and to adapt them to the needs and conditions of the time as well as to provide, as far as possible, for their being properly performed;

(c) To promote social welfare and eradicate social evils in the Hindu community;

(d) To promote tolerance good feeling and a spirit of co-operation between Hindus and the followers of other faiths.

The temples are open not only to Hindus but to followers of other faiths who wish to participate in this Hindu form of congregational worship. The social reforms included

(i) Breaking down of social disabilities and restrictions entailed by the mere reason of caste or sex (women and non-Brahmins were entitled to conduct worship in the temples);

(ii) Eradication or reform of injurious customs such as early marriage and immature parentage, enforced widowhood, exaction of dowry from brides or bridegrooms.

Similar reform movements were started in other religions. There was the Liberal Catholic Church for reforms in the Christian religion; the attempt of Colonel Olcott to bring all the Seots of Buddhism to agree on Fourteen Fundamental Points as a common platform; the simplification of the rituals and practices of the Zoroastrains; the attempt to bring the Shia and Sunni sects of Islam together. Annie Besant was responsible for the building of the shrines of the various faiths at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society at Adyar where we have a Hindu Temple, a Christian Church, a Moslem mosque, a Parsi (Zoroastrian) Agiary, a Buddhist Shrine and a Sikh Gurudwara. She also laid the foundation for a Hebrew Synagogue. Each of these places of worship is open to anyone who wishes to participate in its rituals, thus giving practical shape to the idea of a fellowship of all faiths.

Annie Besant inspired the founding of schools and colleges by Lodges or branches of the Theosophical Society for a new type of education where fear would have no place and where by the power of love the divine qualities in every child would be brought out for the benefit of future generations. She also initiated a National University with Sri Rabindranath Tagore as its Chancellor. It is a pity that many of these projects which she started became dormant for want of devoted and enthusiastic leadership, in spite of the fact that she had laid the greatest emphasis in building up such a leadership to carry on the work after her. In fact, she had inspired and trained so many young people that Mr. Jinarajadasa summed up a short biography of hers with three words; 'She made men'.

The only hostel facilities available for students and young working men in those days were those provided by the YMCA, which emphasized the Christian character of the institution and was insidiously proselytising in its effect. Annie Besant wished to provide a non-denominational and truly secular hostel for young Indians and founded the YMIA (Young Men's Indian Association) and built for it the Gokhale Hall in a central location in Madras at an enormous cost. One of her activities which proved most useful and popular was the institution of a 'mock parliament' in which young people were given training in parliamentary practice so that when the time came the legislatures in India would be conducted with due dignity and decorum. Her own active participation in its proceedings brought many eminent people to associate themselves with this most educative and useful activity.

A Scout troop had been started in the Madanapalle school, but the founder of the movement, Sir Robert Baden-Powell declined to affiliate the troop in his organization on the ground that the number of British officers in the Scout movement in India was in-sufficient to justify the extension of scouting to India. Annie Besant considered this as yet another insult to the Indian people who were not considered good enough to organize the training of young people in good citizenship without foreign supervision. She immediately organized the Indian Boy Scouts Association which later became Bharat Scouts and Guides and Sri Rebort was most surprised at the success of the Indian Scout movement and the two movements were amalgamated and Annie Besant became the Honorary Commissioner for India.

Annie Besant had always been interested in the welfare of women because of her inherent sense of justice and fair play, particularly in regard to the weak against the strong. She repeatedly pointed out :

> 'There is no such thing as the right of the strong over the weak. Strength does not give right; it gives duty. The stronger you are, the greater your duty of service.'

Addressing a meeting in the Royal Albert Hall in London as early as 1911, she had said :

'Do not think we are here tonight to support a women's movement. It is not a women's movement; it is a human movement. Men and women cannot be separated into two distinct halves. There is but one humanity.'

It is this approach of wholeness which marked her out as an outstanding humanitarian in whom there was no place for any sectional or denominational interests. The welfare of the whole was what was to be considered and it was necessary to ensure that the interests of the weak are not overlooked or neglected.

Annie Besant started the Women's Indian Association in 1917 and soon made it a most dynamic organization with centres in every part of the country. She published a journal entitled 'Strī Dharma' in which the unique position of Indian women as the custodians of Indian culture was emphasized. A deputation consisting of Annie Besant, Sarojini Devi and others presented to Mr. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India, a memorandum that Indian women should be made eligible for franchise on the same terms as men. If Indian women are today Ambassadors in other countries, Presidents of public bodies, members of legislatures, Ministers, Chief Ministers or even the Prime Minister of the country, much of the credit must go to Annie Besant and her colleagues who laid the foundations for it. Yet she wished Indian women not to lose their essential feminity and grace or their roots in true Indian culture for they have been the custodians of that culture for the many centuries in which the men had moved away from it, particularly in urban areas.

I do not propose to say much about her political work except in so far as it touches on her impact on Indian culture. During India's freedom struggle much has happened to corrode and undermine the foundations of Sanātana Dharma because of blind copying of Western values and Western methods. Annie Besant points out, 'If we compare the fundamental idea of Sanātana Dharma with that of modern Western life, you will find that the ideal of the former is Dharma or *duty* whereas the Western idea is of *rights*... Dharma means the obligations into which every man is born, to the parents, to the family, to the community, to the nation... The elders guard and protect the child. The child in his manhood must repay the obligations in its turn... Thus we come to the underlying idea of Manu, of Dharma — duties

or obligations to the Devas for the gifts of nature; to ancestors whose heritage we have inherited; to fellow human beings who supply our various wants; to animals and plants; to the Rishis of the past who have brought us to the stage of perfection we have so far attained. All these obligations are to be discharged if the cycle of life is to go on uninterrupted. Out of our recognition of these obligations or duties, the due performance of our Dharma, grows the stability and the orderly progress of human life.

'In the West, however, another idea has grown up in recent times — in less than two centuries — the idea that each is an individual, alone and apart, and that the very fact of birth invests him with certain rights. Society, according to this concept, rests not on mutual obligations but on individual rights which he may enforce by any means in his power. According to this view, law is only binding because people have accepted it and consented to it, yielding partially so that he may enjoy the remainder more fully. It is all a matter of contract. A marriage is no sacrament, but a mutually accepted agreement. Each one asserts his rights without an equal emphasis on obligations. The result is continual struggle. The family no more represents all its members, as in the old Indian joint family system, but indivials each asserting his rights. The community similarly ceases to stress the obligations of each family constituting it. The legislature ceases to represent the nation as a whole but of parties or groups of conflicting interests. Nations cease to consider their mutual obligations for the common good of humanity as a whole and asserts each its right to unlimited sovereignty, which may extend to total destruction of another nation or nations. One need hardly mention that if this trend continues unchecked and nations and individuals alike are not made to realize their mutual obligations there is the danger of the dissolution of the whole of modern civilization.'

In spite of her immense love for India, she was working on a larger framework than narrow nationalism. She worked with the forces of evolution and opposed revolution and anarchy. When Gandhiji started his Direct Action of Civil Disobedience and called on the ignorant masses and the immature students to break the laws of the land, she wisely warned all concerned that they were undermining law and order and that once people learn to break one law they would go on to break all laws. She said,

'You are sowing the wind; you will reap the whirlwind.' We know only too well how true these words have been. So strongly did she feel on this subject that in her newspaper *New India* she declared, 'Brickbats must be met with Bullets', meaning that Law and Order must be maintained at all cost. This again is in keeping with Indian culture and tradition. In her book 'India — Bond or Free' she quotes examples of farmers in ancient Indian peacefull ploughing their fields while not far from the spot opposing armies were fighting a war.

She was working for larger and larger political federations — for a United States of Furope; for a Federation of South America and for a World Federation of Self-Governing Nations with a world government which would do away with war. She was clear in her own mind that when such a World Federation comes it would be India's role to be the spiritual mother of all mankind. In spite of the many setbacks which have occurred and the inhuman arms race in which the superpowcrs are indulging themselves, let us hope that Annie Besant's dream of a World Federa-of Free Nations will materialise and that India will find her destined place as the spiritual mother of nations of the world.

In conclusion, the Chairman thanked the Lectuer and the audience.

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a symposium on 'Contribution of Women to Literature and Arts' at 3 P.M. on Monday, the 12th August 1985 in Room No. 48, University Departmental Buildings. Prof. P. Thirugnasambandhan, M.A., L. T., Director of the Institute presided. The following persons participated in the symposium:

1. Mrs. S. Rajalakshmi, M. A., M. Litt. (Tamil Literature)
2. Dr. S. Meera, M. A., Ph.D. (Sanskrit Literature)
3. Dr. M. Prameela, M. A. (Ind. Phil); M. A. (Music) (Fine Arts).

The proceedings of the symposium are given below:

Mrs. S. RAJALAKSHMI, M.A., M. Litt.

Literature is the autobiography of mankind. Tamil has a very ancient classical literature of great beauty and value. As early as the 1st B. C. the beginning of the age of the Sangam, the women-folk were well educated and were capable of literary activity. The Sangam Literature bears ample evidence to the fact that many women had distinguished themselves in the field of literature. We come across more than 40 women poets who contributed to thought, progress and attitude to life. Allur Nanmullaiyar, Adi-manthiyar, Okkur masathiyar, Avvaiyar, Nannagaiyar, Kakkaippadiniyar Nachchellaiyar, Kavarpendu, Kuramagal Ilaveyiniyar, Nakkannaiyar, Nettimaiyar, Pari-magalir, Buthappandian devi Perunkoppendu, Marokkothu Nappasalaiyar; Vennikkuyathiyar, Velli-veethiyar and Veri-padia-kamakkanniyar are some of the outstanding poetesses of the Sangam Age.

Among them Avvaiyar stands out as a unique guiding star. There must have been two poetesses of the same name which means only 'an old woman'. The first Avvai was the contemporary of the early pandya king Ugra-Peru-Vazhuthi and she had the

honour of addressing the three Tamil Kings Ugra-peru Vazhuthi, Peru-nar-killi and the chera Ma-ven-ko together. She exhorted them to do good during all their life time, which alone she said would save them in future. The best part of her life was spent in the Court of Athiyaman-Anchi who held her in great esteem. Once Athiyaman gave her a gooseberry fruit which was reputed to possess the marvellous power of prolonging one's life. He thought that a long life to Avvaiyar would be more useful and meaningful rather than that of his own and the grateful minstrel thanked him for his generosity and magnanimity.[1]

She remained with Athiyaman as his court poet for a long time. Once Avvaiyar was sent as an ambassador to the court of Thondaiman, king of Kanchi, to prevent a disastrous war.[2] We are not sure whether the embassy was fruitful or not; but sometime later Athiyaman was killed in a battle and we see Avvaiyar lamenting pathetically at the demise of her great king.[3]

Avvaiyar has to her credit 33 compositions in Puram and a few in Aham. She had also eulogised Venko and Nanchil Valluvan besides Athiyaman.

The second Avvaiyar seems to have been the contemporary of Kambar and Ottakkuthar. She was also the contemporary of Kulothunga chola who patronised her. On the occasion of the Coronation of Culottunga Avvaiyar was present with other poets and Avvai had sung a song in praise of the king.[4]

"If the bunds of the channel leading to the fields rise higher, more water will flow through them; more water means more crops; more crops mean flourishing population, flourishing population means powerful monarchy". Thus she pointed out the fundamental theory of Economics that human wealth is the backbone of the country.

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1. Puram — 91.
2. Puram — 95.
3. Puram — 235.
4. வரப்புயர நீர் உயரும்
   நீர் உயர நெல் உயரும்
   நெல் உயர குடி உயரும்
   குடி உயர கோலுயரும்.

In one of the poems Avvaiyar categorically gives explanations to various questions which arise in our mind. She says "That poverty is harsh on life; but poverty in youth is harsher; still more harsher is incurable disease; the harshest of all is faithless woman and exceedingly harsh is to be fed by them."[5]

In another composition she extols the human beings[6] 'Human birth is rare; human birth without any deformity is rarer; human birth without mental deformity is rarer still; sound intellect combined with a naturally charitable disposition is the rarest of all. Such noble souls certainly have a place in Heaven.

Her two books of aphorisms entitled Athichudi and Konrai venthan written in the order of the Tamil Alphabet have been appropriately called "The Golden Alphabet of the Tamils." We shall recall some of the lines in Athichudi

Desire to do charity
Anger should be controlled
Fail not to render what help lies in your power
Prevent not the giving up alms
Reveal not what you possess
Slacken not exertion
Neglect not numbers and letters
Begging is shameful.

Besides Athichudi and Konrai Venthan Avvaiyar is credited with many other works like Muthurai and Nalvazhi. In these poems she speaks of service to the poor. Relief of the distressed, administratian of justice, friendship and state craft. The extracts from Avvai's utterances clearly show that she is the cultural exponent of the genius of the Tamils.

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5. கொடிது கொடிது வறுமை கொடிது
அதினினும் கொடிது இளமையில் வறுமை
அதினினும் கொடிது ஆற்றொணாக் கொடு நோய்
அதினினும் கொடிது அன்பிலாப் பெண்டிர்
அதினுனும் கொடிது இங்கு
இன்புற அவர் கையில் உண்பது தானே—

6. அரிதரிது மானிடராய்ப் பிறத்தல் அரிது.

In religion, Avvaiyar was a firm believer in the existence of God. The holy priest of a certain temple once accused her for having stretched her feet towards the idol. Avvai politely asked him to show her the place where God was not present so that she might turn her feet in that direction. The priest acknowledged his ignorance and the true nature of God.

One of the fasinating features of Avvai is the remarkable simplicity of forms in which she explains the Sanathana dharma. The four Purushārthas are explained in the following way.[7]

"Dharma is relief of distress
Artha is what you acquire avoiding sin
Kama is the oneness of mind and mutual helpfulness of
    loving man and wife.
And when you think of the beyond
giving up these three
Comes the Blissful liberation.

It is interesting note that for Avvai, there are only two castes.[8]

"There are no castes but two, if you want me to tell
One, the good men who help the poor in distress.
The other, that will not so help
These are the low-born
And those are the true high caste, this is scripture true"

Great importance was attached to learning in those days. The educated man was rated even higher than the king. The following is Avvai's contribution to this theme.[9]

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7. ஈதல் அறம் தீவினை விட்டீட்டல் பொருள் எஞ்ஞான்றும்
காதல் இருவர் கருத்தொருமித்து —ஆதரவு
பட்டதே இன்பம் பரனை நினைத்து இம்மூன்றும்
விட்டதே பேரின்ப வீடு.

8. 'சாதி இரண்டொழிய வேறில்லை சாற்றுங்கால்
நீதி வழுவா நெறிமுறையின்—மேதினியில்
இட்டார் பெரியோர் இடாதார் இழிகுலத்தோர்
பட்டாங்கில் உள்ளபடி.'

9. "மன்னனும் மாசறக் கற்றோனும் சீர்தூக்கின்
மன்னனிற் கற்றோன் சிறப்புடையன்—மன்னர்க்குத்

"Compare the king and the man of learning
The scholar's dominion is greater than the king's
The king's glory is limited to his domains
But the scholar is esteemed wherever he may go."

At this point we stop with Avvai and proceed to other poetesses of Sangam Age who have in their turn contributed to literature.

Pon-mudiyar:-

The importance of education was realised by the Tamils as early as the Sangam Age. The parents were aware of educating their children. The ambition of the mother is to make her son attain greatness. However we hear of a proverb that "The benefit of education will be lost after the death of the father (தந்தையொடு கல்வி போம்). In the same way *Pon-mudiyar* declares in one of her compositions that "The mother's supreme duty is to bear and deliver the child; Father's duty is to make him learned; The king's duty is to make him a man of good conduct and character; the son's duty is to prove himself a worthy citizen." Thus in a very simple manner the poetess underlines the role of each one in society and declares that the youth should prove themselves to be worthy citizens by their service to the country.[10] *Perumkoppendu*: the queen of the Pandya Bhuthapandian was a learned lady who composed a poem at the death of her husband. Perumkoppendu did not want to lead the miserable life of a widow and wanted to commit Sati. The ministers and courtiers tried to dissuade her from committing Sati. The answer which she gave them is in the form of a poem. She says, "The widow has to eat cold-rice kept overnight with the cooked Velai greens once a day and lie on the floor without a mat. Such a miserable life I would not live. The funeral flames are to me the chill waters of the lotus pond; therefore do not prevent me from committing Sati." The poem not only indicates the plight of the widows but also the custom of Sati.[11]

தன் தேசமல்லால் சிறப்பில்லை கற்றோர்க்குச்
சென்ற இடமெல்லாம் சிறப்பு."

10. Puram — 312.

11. Puram — 246.

Naccellaiyar was the author of the sixth ten in Padirruppattu which is a work in praise of the Chera king, Ādukōtpathu-cheralathan and in ruturn she was presented with 9 tulas of gold and a lakh of Gold coins and was retained in the palace, as his court poet.[12]

Mārokkathu Nappasalaiyar, another poetess has composed several verses in Purananuru and a single verse in Narrinai. She was the contemporary of the Chola king, kulamurrathuthunjiya — Kiḷḷivaḷavan and Malayaman Thirumudikkāri. She was so much attached to Kiḷḷivalavan that she could not bear the sight of his death and so laments his death in a verse.

Veṇṇi-kuyathiyar probably belonged to potter's community. She has sung in praise of Karikalan and his famous battle Vennipparanthalai.

Velli-veethiyar's verses are seen in Aham wherein she gives some valuable historical references. She describes how Adimanthi searched her husband and the war that followed the cutting off of Thilthiyan's Punnai tree and the valour of Vānavaramban, the chera monarch in destroying fortresses.

Kāvar-pendu was a Marava by caste and belonged to the family of village guards. She had a warrior son and she looked upon him as a fierce tiger, who can be always seen in the battle field and she characterises her womb as the tiger's hollow den.[13]

Now we pass on to Medieval Age in Tamil literature which is characterised as the Bhakti Age.

Kāraikāl Ammaiyar was one of the first and foremost women Saiva Saints who has sung in praise of Lord Siva. She is believed to have lived somewhere in the (5th A. D.) Ammaiyar was therefore earlier in time to the Thevaram Trio. We can say that even St. Thirugnana Sambandhar, St. Thirunāvukkarasar and others only followed her path to attain salvation by singing in praise of God in melodious songs. She has produced three works, namely Thiruvālangāttu-mutha- Thiruppathigam, Thiruvirattai-manimalai and Arputhathiru-vanthathi.

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12. Pathirruppathu — 6: 51-60
13. Puram — 86

In one of the verses she portrays the true picture of the Lord. She says.

"The Lord is the one who knows everything that we want; He is the one who makes us know; He is the supreme knowledge; He himself is the final goal and He is the holy fire, the Universe and the sky."[14]

She says that even while she was a child, she loved God as her saviour; Like other saints she prays for undying love towards Him and deathlessness and eternal dwelling under His dancing feet.[15]

Next we come to Āṇḍāḷ, the daughter of Periāḻwār who is considered to be the greatest among the Ālwars. She took especial delight in making garlands of flower for Vishnu. She is referred to as the Sūdikködutha Nāchiyār from the incident in which Lord Vishnu accepted the garland used by her. Her works are Nāchiyār-thiru-mozhi and Thiruppāvai. There will not be any true vaishnavite who does not recite Thiruppāvai during the month of Margazhi. Āṇḍāl begged the Lord to grant her the privilege of being with Him always not only in this birth but also during the next seven births so that she could serve the Lord.[16]

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14. "அறிவானும் தானே அறிவிப்பான் தானே
அறிவாய் அறிகின்றான் தானே — அறிகின்ற
மெய்ப்பொருளும் தானே விரிசுடர் பார் ஆகாயம்
எப்பொருளும் தானே யுவன்"

—காரைக்கால் அம்மையார் பாடல்

15. "இறவாத இன்ப அன்பு வேண்டிப் பின் வேண்டுகின்றார்
பிறவாமை வேண்டும் மீண்டும் பிறப்புளதேல் உனை யென்றும்
மறவாமை வேண்டும் இன்னும் வேண்டும் யான் மகிழ்ந்து பாடி
அறவா நீ ஆடும்போது உன்னடியின் கீழ் இருக்க என்றார்"

—பெரியபுராணம்

16. "இற்னறப் பறை கொள்வான் அன்று காண் கோவிந்தா
எற்றைக்கும் ஏழேழ் பிறவிக்கும் உந்தன்றொடு
உற்றோமே யாவோம் உமக்கே யாம் ஆட்செய்வோம்
மற்றை நம் காமங்கள் மாற்றேலோர் எம் பாவாய்"

— திருப்பாவை

Her song Vāraṇam-Aayiram is recited at all marriages in Vaishnava homes and is interpreted as the union of thc Atman with Paramatman.

The works of these two lady exponents of both Saivism and Vaishnavism are considered as important mile stones in the history of Hindu literature. Reference has to be made in this connection of Thilakavathiyar, the sister and saviour of St. Thirunavukkarasar and Mangaiyarkkarasiyar, the Queen of Pandya king Neḍumāran. Both of them though they did not contribute to literature, have played an important role in reviving Saivism after the Kalabhra period. After the close of the Bhakti Age the status of women declined to such an extent owing to various causes that women were denied the benefits of education and hence in the age of Vijayanagar we do not find any literary luminary among women.

Lastly we come to the Modern period. Tamil Prose owes its popularity and status to the pioneering works of European scholars, especially the Christian missionaries. It was they who first made Tamil Prose as important and appealing as Tamil Poetry.

In ancient times we had talented women poets who contributed to literature and society. In the modern period many women have taken to writing novels. Mention should be made to Dr. Thirupurasundari. She is very familiar among novel readers by her pen name "Lakshmi". A doctor by profession she has presented several noble characters who are examples for the world. She has written more than 15 Novels and some valuable essays relating to child health and treatment of diseases. Bavani, Pen manam, Mithilā-vilās, Lakshiyavāthi, Puliyin pasi, Murugan siriththān, Nallthōr-veenai are some of her novels worth mentioning. She has been awarded the Tamil Nadu State Govt.'s Award for her works Peṇ-manam, Thāymai and Kuḻanthai-vaithiyam.

Late Rajam Krishnan is a prose writer who treated every character with a psychological touch. She had been awarded 5000 Rupees in the Ananda-vikatan Novel competition for her novel Malargal. Her Novel Vēlaikkāran had earned the Soviet land Nehru Prize. In 1973, Sahitya Academy Award was given to her for the Novel Vērukku-neer and in 1980 Ilakkiyach-chin-

thanai award was given to her production Karuppu-manigal. S. Rajeswari known as Kuyili has produced many social novels such as Vāzhkaippinnaḷ, Deivam sirithathu, Panam Thantha-Parisu etc. Essays centering round the dutiful wife, selfless mother, social culture and sweet home are brought out in a fitting manner in her essays.

Kudumbaththin-kulaviḷakku,

Kulamagaḷ,

Samūgappaṇpādu,

Inba-illatharasi,

Inba-illam, and

Māthar-kulamaṇigal.

Tmt. Rajalakshmi Ramamurthi known as Kōmagaḷ is well known for her striking short stories. Kalki Silver Jubilee short story Award and the kalki-berkli Tamil Sangam Award have been awarded to her for her best story telling. Some of her short stories and short Novels have been translated into Hindi and Kannada languages.

Tmt. Siva Sankari is a famous modern author of Prose writing. Though she started her career some 12 years back, she has taken an impressive place in the reader's mind. She has to her credit Kalki and Amuthasurabi short story awards and Ilakkiya-chinthanai award. She had travelled abroad widely and western ideas and views can be seen in her novels and short stories.

Thiruvēṇi sangamam

Nathiyin-Vegathōdu

Pālangaḷ

47 Nāṭkaḷ.

are some of her novels in which she boldly explains the inner feelings of the feminine mind. In her recent Novel 'Orumani-thanin-kathai', she explains the story of a drunkard in such a wonderful manner that we can call the story, merely as a story of advertisement against drinking explained in an interesting way. We come to know that many Addicts have returned to normal

life after reading this story. This is one of the wonders that literature can do in human life and the credit for it should go to Siva Sankari.

Tmt. Indumathi is also as famous as Siva Sankari among the student community. She has attained a great name in a very short period. She has to her credit many novels. Besides being a writer, she has also distinguished herself as the Lady Editor of the journal Aswini.

Anuthama is considered as the Jane Austin of Tamil Nad. Choodamani's Novels are capable of portraying the finer feelings of the human beings. Among her productions Manathirku-iniyaval, Viḍivai-nōkki are worth mentioning. Krishna's novel Raji and Vimala Ramani's Pārijatham are also novels of a high order.

To conclude it can be said that women have made considerable contribution to literature from ancient times and that their words of wisdom are still recalled and remembered such as those of Avvaiyar.

I have indicated the well known women who have made a rich contribution to Tamil Literature in Modern Times. But it should be remembered that there are many more less known ladies who have contributed to Tamil Literature. With the growth of education many ladies are competing successfully with men in the sphere of literary work.

Dr. S. MEERA

A poetess Madhuravāṇī in the court of Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore 1614 A.D. describes poetry as being refined and tested by the intellects of poets of varied kinds, shining with the variegated gifts of these poets like a damsel shining with the limbs anointed with different unguents of musk, sandal and saffron.

This variety of gifts in poets is due to the innate and acquired factors, the background and elements like age, place, politics, religion and social condition. Then only figure, training, knowledge and sensitivity. Hence the difference is seen in the style and treatment of identical subject by different artists. This is more pronounced in literature since the subjective element of the author plays a major part. But does sex make any difference in the output? Examining the various cultures and literature of different languages throughout the centuries we do find a different attitude towards women and women subjects in authors and specially favoured themes and a different world view among women writers. India afforded different status to women in Vedic, epic and classical and late classical age and the difference is distinct enough to set apart women both as subjects of literature and creators of literature.

During the vedic and epic age women were brought up with the best advantages available to men and women bringing out all the latent capacities in them. Due to a full education and equal religious rights, their poistion was fully safeguarded. They offered sacrifices, pursued the spiritual path and adopted many vocations without limiting themselves to a purely domestic existence. Servility never marked vedic and epic women. Their nobility and confidence earned for them their eminence in society. But sadly from the days of Manu, the puritanic noble monogamic aryan way of life seen in vedas degraded into the hedonistic wayward polygamy marked by double standards. Even though Manu declares that Gods can be pleased only by cherishing women —

'Yatra nāryas tu pūjyante ramante tatra devatās', he commits the blunder of making her adore a creature similar to herself. This human worship degrades her and moreover deprives her of her rightful divine worship. After extreme repression during Buddhist period the late classical period experienced a reverse to extreme passion. This was further worsened by faulty interpretations of the Vallabha cult leading to moral decline. Contrasted with the early noble ideals of right of choice of husband for women, widow remarriage and equal upbringing seen in vedic and epic age are the later fanatic child marriages, sahagamana (immolation of widows) and suppression and degradation of women seen in Manu. While sahagamana was merely laudable and voluntary in vedic and epic periods, later during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries it deteriorated into actual murders of widows imposed by the society. Such double standards also led to some misogynic tendencies in literature of which earlier examples are also rarely seen. Man feared woman, rather his own weakness for her and considered her an impediment to his moral and spiritual advancement. Sankara in Bhajagovinda or Bhatruhari in Vairāgya sataka cite examples of warnings about women — There is the sweetness of honey in the words of women but their heart is filled with poison' etc. But positive attitude is also seen in tender vignettes of women and emotional situations as in Amaruśataka, where a polygamous but deftly considerate society is depicted. Often the positive attitude led on to a hedonistic extreme of viewing women as objects of pleasure and the glorification of the physical aspect of the feminine subject. This is seen as a reaction to the extreme supression and this later led to prurient decadence.

The vedic age abounds in noble, learned and spiritual personalities like Maitreyi, the wife of Yājñavalkya, Devahūti the mother of sage Kapila, who learnt the Sāṅkhya doctrine from her son princess Lopāmudrā who married Agastya and became a seer and other female sages like Gargi Valaknavi and Badarāprātitheyī. During the historic period the wife of Maṇḍana misra could overwhelm the great ascetic Saṅkara in debate. Rājaśekhara often mentions with pride the opinions of his learned wife Avanisundarī in rehetorics. Regarding women as themes or subjects of poetry, legends offer negative types like Diti, Kadrū, Mantharā or Kaikēyi as well as laudable figures like Suṅiti, mother of Dhruva Mādri who remorsefully immolates herself on the pyre of

Pāṇḍu noble sita, sagacious Tārā, ascetic Sabarī, faithful Maṇḍodarī, fair minded Trijaṭā compassionate and just Gāndhārī affectionate Kuntī, fierce and proud Draupadī, naive Sakuntalā, steadfast Damayantī and superhuman Sāvitrī. Lofty ideals, sensitive thought and exemplary virtues are attributed by poets to these women characters. During the classical age too in literature we get a varied portrayal of women which brings out their sense of sacrifice affectionate nature, refinement, proficiency in fine arts, bravery, religious tendency, devotion, simplicity, alluring grace and intellect. In Sūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭikā, Vasantasenā even though a haetera bears a steadfast love towards Cārudatta a married man and is united with his family after several tribulations. The women characters figuring in the light comedies of royal love, intrigue displays a remarkable sophistication. The queens in polygamous situations show an extraordinary forbearance, maturity and refinement. Kālidāsa's description of Aja lamenting over the death of his queen Indumatī portrays fully well the endearing, fascinating personality of the woman of that age. The king mourns the loss of Indumatī who was to him a wife, minister, friend and an avid pupil in fine arts simultaneously.

In the vedic period we find several women composers of hymns. Viśvavārā V.28 Apalā VIII. 91. Ghoṣā daughter of Kakṣivān I HF.=122 Juhū X. 109. Śaśvatī VIII. 1. Māndhātrī X 134. Madhavī I. 91 Śaśiprabhā IV. 4 Aṇulakshmī II. 78. III. 28. 63. 74. 76. Revā I. 87. Pahāyī I. 83 and Rohā II. 63 are some of them.

After the Vedic age we find women writers only during the late classical period of Vijayanagar empire and the modern age. The intervening age has minor poetesses whose stray verses are quoted in anthologies and learned figures like Avantisundarī whose opinions are quoted in technical fields, Lallā the poetess of Kashmir and Buddhist female ascetics. Due to the then prevailing social condition only the aristocracy had the benefit of a full education. So the majority of the poetesses hail from this stratum. The works that have survived are but a few in number but more of them might have been in existence. In these works are seen the stamp of a cultured existence, objective attitude, proclivity for all aspects of life and depth of thought vying with the best of writers. Rudrata in Kavyālankāra stating that if the purpose

is anukarana — imitation, faults like 'incongruity' and harsh sounds' do not arise; he quotes a verse in which a friend of poetess Vikata nitambā bemoans the fate which linked the poetess to an illiterate husband who cannot pronounce words properly. Dhanada deva in Śārngadhara paddhati mentions poetesses Śīlā, Vijjā, Marulā and Morikā. Rājaśekharacarita mentions poetesses Kāmalīlā, Sunandā, Kanakavallī, Madhurāṅgī, Lalitāṅgī and Vimalaṅgī. Various anthologies quote poetesses like Jaghanacapalā *(Padyaveṇī)* *Avilambita sarasvati (Pady.)* *Indulekhā* (Subhāsitāvalī) ,Kuntidevī (Subh). Caṇḍāla Vidyā (Sadukti karṇāmrita) Nāgamā (Sārṅgadharapaddhati) Padmāvatī (Padyamṛta taraṅgiṇī) Rajaka sarasvati (Skm), Laksmi (Sp.) Madālasā (Sp.) Vīrasarasvatī (Pady.) Sarasvatī. (Sum) Sītā, Vijayaṅkā, Vijjā or Vijjakā, *Subhadrā, Prabhudevī and Vikaṭa nitambā (mentioned by* Rudraṭa). Rājaśekhara praises Sīlā bhaṭṭārikāś works as being equal to Bāṇaś, in pāñcāli style. He lauds the elegance of Vikaṭanitambā, the simple vaidarbnī of Vijayankā, the pithy utterances, expertise in erotics, fine arts and the lāṭī style of Prabhudevī, the appeal of Subhadrā and the suggestive meanings in the poetry of Morikā. The ultimate encomium he reserves for Vijjakā who is a corporal dark Sarasvatī challenging the statement of Daṇḍi that Saraswathi is all white.

Tukkā one of the three queens of Krisṇadevarāya was the daughter of Pratāparudra gajapati of Orissa. Due to an unhappy marriage she had composed a few sad verses about her forlorn state. Vaijayantī in 1700 A. D. had composed several verses which were incorporated into Ānanda tilaka campū of her husband Kṛṣṇa nātha. Jayantī was a poetess from Bengal. Uppaya, Manoramā and Subhadrā were from Malabar. Sundari and Kamalā wives of Ghanaśyāma of Tanjore were famous poetesses. Lakhina Thakur rāṇi of Mithilā composed verses. A verse of hers combines Zodiacal signs in their order with the state of a love lorn lady whose only relief is married life.

Poetesses who wrote complete works hail only from the end of ninteenth century. Gangādevī wife of Kampaṇa or Kampa rāya who was the second son of Bukka I (1343-1339 A.D.) wrote Madhurā vijaya or Vīrakamparāyacarita. She mentions Agastya pandita alias Vidyanathan who was the court poet of Pratapa-rudradeva of Warangal (1294-1325 A. D.) as an author of 74 Kāvyas.

The poem in fragment deals with the exploits of Kampana — his expedition to South and the conquest of Madhura. There is a description of the temple at Vijayanagar, a description of Kāñci and the description of the army of the conquering king killing the Sultan at Madura. Kampana givesaway several grants to the temples of the region. Tirumalāmbā, daughter of Kṛiṣṇadevarāya was in the court of Acyutaraya too. She wrote the Varadāmbikā pariṇaya campū dealing with the 1. Geneology of king Narasa, 2. His marriage to Obamāmbā 3. birth of son Acyuta 4. Marriage of Varadāmbā princess of Salaga to Acyuta 5. Installation of son Cinnavenkatādri as Yuvarāja. Sāradā is mentioned by Saluva Narasimha in Rāmābhuyudaya I. as having authored 18 plays and several poems in Sanskrit and Prākṛt Priyamvadā flourished in 1600 A.D. and wrote a poemŚyāmarahasya. Rāmabhadrāmbā, queen of Naik king Raghunātha of Tanjore 1614 A.D. wrote a poem Raghunāthābhyudaya in praise of him. Poetess Madhuvavanī in the court of this king wrote a poem in 14 cantos on Ramāyaṇa. Triveni who flourshed in 1817-1883 wrote stotras, Lakshmi sahasra, Ranganātha sahasra, lyrics Śukasandeśa, Bhrnga sandeśa, poems Rangābhyudaya. Sampatkumāra vijaya, plays Ranga rāṭsamvdaya add Tattva mudrā bhadrodaya (allegorical). Lakṣmi rajani princess of Malabar 1820 A. D. wrote Santānagopāla kavya in 3 cantos.

Sundaravalli of Mysore 1916 A.D. wrote Rāmāyana campū in 6 cantos. Jñānasundarī a dancing girl of Kumbakonam in 1910 A.D. wrote Hālāsya campū in 6 cantos. In the modern period Ratnī devi's prose narrative on Raghuvamśa in Sūryā Journal IX 286. Mālati senś critiques on rhetorics, her commentary on Vāmana's Kavyālaṇkāra sūtra, Reṇudevi's prose work Rajani in Sahrdaya journal pt. XI., Umādevi's Ābhāṇaka mālā on proverbs of different languages, Kāmāksi's (1902) poem Rāmacarita Bālāmbā!ś Āryā Rāmāyaṇa are note worthy.

This survey indicates that inspite of a promising start at the vedic age, writing by women did not flourish during the epic classical period but flowered briefly only during the Vijaya nagar dynasty. But for the stray verses spread throughout the country major works came to be sporadically written only after the sixteenth century.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN IN THE FIELD OF KATHAKALAKSHEPA

MISS PRAMEELA

The contribution of women has been varied in the different branches of fine arts. There have been eminent composers, singers, dancers, dramatists and Kalakshepa artistes in the cultural scene of India, throughout the different ages in the pages of history, Karaikkal Ammaiyar, Āndal and Mirabai, the illustrious Saints being ardent devotees who had mystic experiences spread the fragrance of bhakti through their soul-stirring, immortal lyrics.

Many literary references in Tamil reveal the keen participation of women in the arts of Music, dance and drama. The Sangam literature especially the Ārruppadai refers to many families engaged in Music and dance for generations. The Musicians called Pāṇar used the Yazh, Kuzhal and Muzhavu representing the stringed, wind and percussion instruments. Their wives were called as Padiniyār, who were well versed in both Music and dance. The women called Viraliyar were professional dramatists. They along with Porunar, Pānar and Kūttar went to cities and villages and nurtured the arts for many centuries.[1] The following reference figuring in Puranānuru reveals that the female dancers callcd Viraliyar were honoured by the Kings.

''மாணிழை விறலி மாலையொடு விளங்க''

The young shepherd damsels being conversant with the Mullaipan sung with five notes is evident from a study of the Kuravi dance played by Aycchiyar in silappadikaram.[2] Madhavi

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1. Tamil Ilakkiya Varalaru — IV edition — Mu. Varadarasan p. 51.

2. Silappadikaram Isaitamil — Dr. S. Ramanathan p. 90.

is described as a versatile dancer, singer and the performer on the yazh in Silappadikaram. This Tamil classic describes in detail her rendering of the Arravari in the presence of Kovalan.

Karaikkal Ammaiyar who belonged to the 6th century is probably the earliest Saivite Woman Saint composer whose lyrics are considered as the ancient songs full of Bhakti and Jnana. She hailed from Karaikkal and was intensely devoted to Lord Siva and latter attained Mukti at Tiruvalangadu. Even to-day special prayers and festivals are conducted in this temple in her memory. Her immortal songs have been compiled in three works called Arpuda Tiruvandādi, Irattaimanindai and Mūtta Tirup-padigangal. The Tevaram hymns composed from the 7th century upto 9th century became obsolete. After the period of the Teva-ram composers Nambiyander Nambi recovered them at Chidam-baram. The songs were set to Music by a pāna girl singer, descen-dent of Tirunīlakanta Yazhpanar of Erukkanttampuliyur who provided the Yazh accompaniment to Saint Tirugnanasambandar. This helped Nambi to reconstruct the lost pans. Today we owe the great legacy of the Tevaram Tradition to this remarkable lady singer.

Āndal who belonged to the 9th century has been one of the earliest Tamil women composers to have conceived her hymns on the theme of bridal mysticism, or Madhura Bhakti. She is the only woman poet among the Alwars. Her songs number in all 173 verses form the Tiruppavai and Nāchiyar Tirumozhi. The Tiruppavai hymns are very popular throughout Tamil Nadu and have been translated into Kannada and Telugu. This sacred tradition has been continuing upto modern times by many women artists each excelling one another in the different aspects of the art.

In the contemporary musical scene there have been and are many illustrious female musicians of national and international repute, viz., Vina Dhanammal, Jayammal, N.C. Vasantakokilam, M.S. Subbulakshmi the first lady Sangita Kalanidhi recipient, D.K. Pattammal, T. Brinda, T. Mukta, and M.L. Vasanthaku-mari who have each secured a unique position in the field of music.

The noted women composers Nila Ramamurthy, Ambujam Krishna, Kausalya Raman, D. Pattammal, Andavan Pitchai and

others have enriched the musical repetoire with their remarkable compositions which are popularly rendered by the top ranking musicians of to-day.

Bangalore Nagaratnammal, a versatile musician and an ardent devotee of Saint Thyagaraja and her pioneering service rendered to build the temple at Thyagaraja at Tiruvaiyar is noteworthy.

Before evaluating the contribution of women in the field of Kalakshepa in Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, it is necessary to analyse the growth of Kathakalakshepa a prominent branch of art form belonging to the sphere of sacred Music. Kathakalakshepa is a composite art which besides the main story theme, included narration, histrionics, music, elements of dance and philosophical doctrines. This art of story exposition is also known as Kalakshepa, Kathakalakshepa, Harikat and Harikathakalakshepa. It is understood in the conventional sense of listening to stories connected with Indian Mythology coupled with music.

Listening to interesting and inspiring stories narrated by a scholar, has been a common practice during the vedic period. Such discources termed as Akhyanas have always educated and entertained people at large. The Aitereya Brahmana refers to the Sunassepopakhyana, the story of Sunessepa narrated by the Hotr priest at the Rajasuya sacrifice. Mention is also made of the Akhyanà-vid, as one who is well versed in Akhyana. In the Chandogya Upanisad the word Katha is referred to in the sense of a philosophical discussion.[1]

Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan holds the view that in many villages and rural complexces the tradition of singing the Ramayana serves the joint purpose of moral education and artistic communication. It is believed that the first reciters and narrators of the story were Lava and Kusa themselves.[3]

Story narration has been performed in many styles. Purana discourse is commonly found existing in all parts of the country.

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3. An introduction to the history of Tamil Literature M. Arunachalam page 41

In Purana discourse certain verses from a Purana are read out and explained by the Pauranika. Such discourses were held in the Royal Courts and temples. These discourses are performed by a single scholar without any accompaniment as there is no music in it. Being full of Sastraic information and philosophical doctrines it is meant for an intellectual audience and the mood is serious and solemn. The Upanyasa is performed in the seated posture.

The Kalakshepa form prior to the influence of the Marathi Kirtan was an addition to Bhajana, Namasankirtana and Puranic exposition. According to Prof. P. Sambamoorthy, the Bhagavatars performed Urchaurthi Bhajana in the morning and performed religious discourses in the evening.[4]

Prior to the period of the advent of the Marathi Kirtan there were mainly three kinds of story narrators. The Oduvars expounded the Kamba Ramayanam, Kandapuranam, Villiputhurar Bharatam etc. incorporating the Nayanmar Tevaram, Tiruvasagam, the hymns of the Alwars etc. They were generally called as prasangas. Even in the ancient Tamil classic Tolkappiyan we find a reference where religious stories were narrated with suitable songs. This was called 'Tonmai'.

The Pauranikas narrated the Valmiki Ramayana, Bhagavata, and Bharata with suitable quotations coupled with music. The Bhāgavatars blended these two above mentioned styles and performed Kalakshepas with instruments assisted by Upagayakas. Varahur Gopala Bhagravater, Sivarama Bhagavatar, Puvalur Kalyanarama Bhagavatar and Maradanallur Swami performed Kalakshepas and Bhajanas including many Ashtapadis and Tarangams. Primary importance was given to Bhakti which was the predominent rasa.

Impact of Marathi Kirtan on Kathakalakshepa: The Marathi rulers of Tanjavur who were great patrons of art were themselves scholars of a high calibre. During the Maratha reign in Tanjavur many Kirtarkars from Gwalior and Puna came to Tanjavur invited by the Maratha rulers. These Kirtan perfor-

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4. Vedic Index of have and subjects Arthur Antony Macdonell and Arthur Beriddla Keith — pages 52-134.

mances became very popular in Tanjavur, Pudukottai and Trivandrum Samastanas, and there arose a keen competition between the Northern and Southern Katha traditions.

The earliest popular kirtankar was Meruswami alias Ananthapadmanabha Goswami who was in the Services of Raja Serfoji — II and King Sivaji — II. Being well versed in Hindustani music and referred to as Cuckoo voiced (Kokila kanta) he later visited the Court of king Swati Tirunāl in the year 1836. Another kirtankar of repute who flourished in Tanjore was Ramachandra Bava Morgaunkar or Morkar Bava. Meruswami, Morkar Bava, and other Kirtankars popularised the kirtan form in and around Tanjavur. It was at this juncture that Tanjavur Krishna Bhagavatar (1841-1903) stepped into the field to reconstruct the Kalakshepa and he decided to blend the good aspects of the Kalakshepa with that of certain elements of the Marathi kirtan: Subsequently he created a golden era for Kathakālakshepa form. This earned him the credit for being the architect and the father of the Tanjavur style of Kalakshepa.

The following are the special features of the Tanjavur Katha tradition perfected by Krishna Bhagavatar. This form gave importance to all the Navarasas, to enhance the entertainment value. The katha performance consisted of the different sections viz. Panchapadi, Pratamapada, Nāmasiddhanta Nirupana and the Katha Nirupana. The essence of this style was its musical excellence consisting of the Marathi forms as well as other compositions of the saint composers in various languages like Sanskrit, Marathi, Tamil, Telegu, Kannada and Hindi pertaining to the classical, light classical and folk realms. The Marathi forms such as Saki, Dindi etc. were adopted from the Marathi kirtan. These were not used by the earlier Bhagavatars. These metrical forms being short, and crisp in catchy tunes, did not dampen the tempo of narration but added to its grandeur.

In Krishna Bhagavatar's style, forms pertaining to Karnatic and Hindustani systems could be heard in their distinct purity. The metrical forms such as Saki, Dindi, Ovi, Abhang, Arya, Pada, Mättakolilam, Khadga etc. rendered in the 7 beat, 5 beat 3 beat and the usitalas became an integral part of this style of Kalakshepa. Many of the Hindustani ragas like Jaunpuri Kafi, Bimpalas,

Behag and Yamankalyan became popular through the medium of kalakshepa.

Following the style of Tanjavur Krishna Bhagavatar eminent Bhagavatars like Pandit Lakshmana Charya, Tiruppayanam Panchāpakesa Sastri, Sulamangalam Vaidhynatha Bhagavatar, Tanjavur Panchapagesa Bhagavatar, Mangudi Chidambara Bhagavatar, Harikesanallur Muthaiah Bhagavatar, Tiruvaiyāru Annāsāmi Bhagavatar and others rose to great heights and the Katha form occupied an exalted position at that time. The significant contribution made by eminent women in the field of Katha can now be analysed.

Smt. C. Saraswathi Bai (1894-1974) became the first lady performer of the Tanjavur style of Harikatha. She entered the male dominated Katha field amidst a lot of opposition and rose to Himalayan heights. She withstood the onslaughts of her veteran male contemporaries and occupied an exalted position as the Queen of Katha. Her entry into the Harikatha Ranga created a great stir, she being the pioneer woman performer. But the opposition was silenced by her remarkable ability as a successful Kathakar. Endowed with a pleasing personality, sweet and majestic voice, excellent diction and exposition, versatality in both Karnatic and Hindustani systems of music and the chaste presentation of the story altogether won her acclaim. For a period of forty years she reigned supreme.

Tiruvaiyaru Krishnachar a great scholar in Sanskrit was the teacher and guide of Saraswathi Bai. She followed the style of Tanjavur Krishna Bhagavatar and received training from Tanjavur Panchapakesa Bhagavatar, an eminent disciple of Krishna Bhagavatar. Her repertoire of songs were varied and she was at ease while rendering both Hindustani and Karnatic compositions. Her music was an attractive aspect of her Harikatha.

The number of themes handled by her was not large but she gave them exhaustive treatment. Ramayanam, Nandanar and Bhadrachala Ramadasa were her masterpieces. She was well versed in Sanskrit, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu and Marathi. She was patronised by the different Samastanas in the South, including Chettinad and received many gifts, todas and medals. Saraswati Bai performed in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karna-

taka, Kerala and Maharashtra. She had the rare privilege of receiving the titles 'Gayanapatu' conferred on her by D. V. Paluskar, Principal, Gardharva Mahavidyalaya, Puna in 1946 and 'Kirtanapatu' by Bala Gangadhara Tilak himself.

C. Banni Bai is yet another eminent lady bhagavatar who entered the field of Katha following the footsteps of C. Saraswathy Bai. Banni bai was born into a musical family where her mother, sisters, and maternal grandmother were trained musicians and performers. Banni Bai in her 7th year sang with her sister Janakavalli in the latter's music concerts. She learnt music from Appākutty Pillai, Kumbakōnam, Swaminatha Iyer, Narayana Sami Iyer, Ariyakudy Ramanuja Iyengar, his disciple Vaidyanatha Iyer, Veena Dhanammal, Kalakkadu Ramanarayana Iyer and his brother Kalakkadu Mahadeva Iyer. Kanchipuram Thiruvengada Pillai taught her dancing and she learnt abinaya from Mylapore Gowri Ammal. Thirupazhanam Panchapagesa Sastri's son T. P. Kalyanarama Sastri and Tanjavur Chittra Kavi Sivarama Bhagavatar taught her Harikatha. Besides her mother tongue Telugu she is well versed in Sanskrit, Marahti, Tamil, Kannada and Hindi. She started her career as a Kathaka in her 12th year and has so far performed all over Tamil Nadu, Kakinada, Visakhapatnam, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Mysore beesides the Cochin and Trivandrum Palaces. She received Todas from the Maharaja of Cochin and Trivandrum and also from Kumbakonam Balakrishna Udaiyar a patron of fine arts.

In the years 1938, 1939 Banni Bai acted in "Santha Sakku Bai" a Tamil film produced by the Royal Talkies of Madurai. She has sung two songs for this film.

The following kathas are her master pieces. Nandanar Rukmani Kalyana, Draupathi Mana Samrakshanam and Bhadrachala Ramadas. As a lady performer, she entered with ease in a male dominated field as her predecessor Saraswathi Bai had already created a new trend of women performing Kathas.

"Kālakshepa Kala bhushanam" was the title conferred on her by Swami Sivananda Saraswathi of Rishikesh. She received the title "Kalai Māmani" from Iyal Isai Nataka Manram. Banni Bai is one of our senior most Kathakars of to-day performing in the traditional Tanjavur Bani. Tanjavur Kamala Murti is yet ano-

ther lady Harikatha artist performing in the traditional style. Being the foremost disciple of Thiruvaiyaru Annaswami Bhagavatar she is a popular lady artiste to-day. She learnt Valli Kalyanam, Garuda Garva Bangam, Rukmani Kalyanam and Seetha Kalyanam from Anna Swami Bhagavatar. She is well versed in music, Sanskrit, Tamil and Marathi and was awarded the title of Kalai Mamani in 1978.

Other eminent lady performers of Katha are Padmasini Bai, Rukmani ammal, Krishnaveni Ammal, Tiripurasundari Ammal, Kanakambujam Ammal, Gnanambal, S.D. Subbulakshmi, Sushila Achutharaman and Balamirachandra.

Maharashtra:

In Maharashtra the art of story exposition is known as Kirtan, Harikirtan and Harikatha. This story narration is performed in a set pattern interspersed with short metrical forms which are unique compositions belonging to this sphere of art. These are the A bhangs of Tukaram and Jnaneswar Aryas of Moropanth Padas of Meruswami, Ananda tanaya, Tukaram and Madhavaswami, Sakis of Monoparth, Ovis of Dasopanth, Mahipatiswami and Sridharaswami. Dindis of Raghunatha Pandita, Chintamani Kavi, Morgaunkar Bava and others.

Though narrating religious stories interspersed with music has been part of the cultural heritage of every state, the art of Kirtan seems to be a unique feature of Maharashtra and is peculiar to the Marathi Culture. It was nurtured through the ages by its saints and rulers. This Kirtan is broadly classified into two styles depending on the mode of presentation. They are the Naradiya and Varkari styles.

The Naradiya style:

The Kirtankars belonging to this tradition are erudite scholars. It is beleived that the Naradiya Paddhati was handed down by Lord Narada himself. Most of the performers of the Naradiya Kirtan hang a miniature tambura (called tamburi in Marathi) around their shoulders similar to the one seen and associated with Lord Narada. The Naradiya style is well known for its scholastic exposition. These Kirtankars are mostly Brahmins. The Naradiya Kirtan is divided into two parts namely the Purvaranga and the

Uttararanga. The Purvaranga which is the first half for the commencing section begins with the 'Namana, consisting of invocatory verses to Guru and other deities like Ganesha and Saraswathi. This is followed by a pada or an abhang which is known as the Pratama Pada or the primary song. The theme found in the song is elaborated and a story is narrated to substantiate the moral message of this theme inherent in the Pratamapada. The performer proves his or her ability by elaborating the theme of the Pratamapada with other suitable quotations which go to support the central idea. These quotations are drawn from the various texts according to the performers creativity and wide learning. This Pūrvaranga goes on for nearly an hour and a half and is concluded by singing the Pratamapada once again. The Purvaranga is followed by the uttararanga, the second part of the Kirtan in which the main story is narrated. The story may deal with any theme drawn from the Bhagavatam, Mahabharata or Ramayana. The story may also be the biographies of the great saints like Tukaram, Smarta Ramdas, Eknatha, Jnanesvar and others. The story is interpreted with suitable songs and humourous anecdotets. After the story exposition the Pratamapada is sung again to sum up. It is noteworthy that this style gained popularity in Maharashtra and spread to the other neighbouring States like Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala.

The Naradiya Kirtan was very much appreciated in South India and certain aspects of this style were adopted in Tanjavur by the local Bhagavatars. There is a branch of the Naradiya Kirtan which is known as the Rashtriya Kirtan. This began in the early part of this century and became a useful medium during the freedom struggle. The biographies or the heroic deeds of king Sivaji, Mahatma Gandhi, Rani Lakshmi Bai and Savarkar became popular themes. This Rashtriya kirtan helped in spreading the spirit of patriotism during the period of the National movement and was well utilised during the pre-independence era. According to Y.B. Damle "Harikatha was used as a very effective platform for indoctrinating the masses even economic movements like the Swadesi movement (ban on foreign goods) were preached through Harikathas. Small wonder then that the British Government in India issued orders for arresting Kirtankars who indulged in this sort of propaganda."[1]

A note on Harikatha — Y.B. Damle Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute June — 1955. page 18.

Varkari Style

The term Varkari denoting those who visited a place was usually understood as the pilgrimage undertaken from Alandi (the samadhi of Jnaneswar) to Pandarpur. The devotees performed Bhajan and Namasan kirtan all the way indulging in congregational singing and worship. It is felt that in the long run while performing Bhajan the leader of the group performed discourses and this paved the way for the varkari style of Harikirtan. Saint Jananeswar who belonged to the 13th Century is believed to have been the founder of this style. The main difference between the Varkari and the Naradiya is that in Varkari there is only the Purvaranga which is elaborated and the uttararanga or the Katha Akhyana is not performed. The Purvaranga is elongated with songs and incidents narrated to suit the meaning of the songs. There is more of Bhajan and Namasankirtan, involving the keen participation of the congregation. Bhakti reigns supreme. Most of the performers of the Varkari style are non-brahmins. This style is very cosmopolitan in nature and is obviously open to one and all without barriers of caste or creed. The Varkari kirtankar was more a singer than a scholar and the sole purpose was to spread the fragrance of Bhakti and to sing the praise of Lord in unison. There were and are many eminent women performers belonging to the Marathi kirtan tradition who have contributed in large measure to the development of this art. The following are a few well known artistes. Ananadabai Patwardhan and Shantabai of Ratnagiri, Indrabai Kulakarni, Janaki bai Mehendase, Nirmalabai Paranjape, Yogini Sabris, Lakshmibai Kelkar and Vijaya Kulakarni from Puna, Krishna Bai Goswami of Nasik, Malatibai Paraki of Satara, Vatsala Bai Astekar of Kolhapur, Vidyavati Deshpande from Bombay and Saraswati Bai Gadgil of Dadar.[1] All these artistes are well versed in Music and Kirtan. Manorama Bai Sabnis and Prema lakhare are popular Radio artistes. Banu Bai a famous Marathi kirtankarini, was attached to the Samastana of the Mysore ruler H.H. Sri Krishna Raja Wadiyar — IV (1895-1940).

It is interesting to note that the devotional Kirtan Sampradaya in Bengal was performed initially by women and later

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1. Telugu Harikatha Sarvaswam — Dr. T. Donappa page 67.

men entered the field. Ganesh Kirtaniya popularised the Kirtan form to great heights. His daughter Aparnadevi became a well known Kirtankarini. She established the Vraja Madhuri Sangha and performed many kathas with only an Ektar as accompaniment (a single stringed drone instrument). The title kirtana Saraswati was conferred upon her.[1]

Karnataka

In the State of Karnataka the art of Kalakshepa is known as Kirtan Kathakirtan, Kathakalakshepa and Harikathe. The Jain and the Saivite musical discourses are called as Jina katha and Sivakatha respectively. Encyclopaedia Karnataka describes the origin of Harikatha in Karnataka thus: "Any story with Sangita Abhinaya coupled with anecdotes is called Kathakalakshepa. This has had its origin in Maharashtra. Before this form entered Karnataka there used to be Purana Patana Bhajana etc. in Temples. In course of time Purana Patana had taken shape into Kathakalakshepa. The actual form and popular appeal for this art has been given by Krishna Bhagavatar of Tanjore and Tiruppayanam Panchapagesa Sastri. To-day Harikatha Vidwans in Karnataka are following the path laid by them".[2]

Haribhakti attained special significance from the time of Haridasans of Karnataka viz. Vyasaraya, Sripadaraya, Purandara dasa and Kanakadasa performing musical discourses. There are references to Harikathas and Haridasas in their compositions.

"Harikatha sravana mado nirantara
Paragatigidu nirdhara nodo
Harikathamrtam Saviya Haridasarallade..."

(Purandaradas)

According to Dr. R. Satyanarayana Kathakirtan acquired the name Harikatha in Karnataka indisputably due to the Haridasas.

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1. ibid Page 63.

2. Katha Kalakshepa — article by V. Ramaratnam. Encyclopaedia Karnataka — page 128, 1977.

The use of this expression in this context was probably inaugurated by Sripadaraya.[3]

The Kirtan and Bhajan of Maharashtra have to some extent influenced the Karnataka Harikatha form. The Marathi Kirtan forms such as Saki, Dindi, Arya and Khadga are used in Kannada. It seems that Ramachandra Buva a popular Kirtankar migrated to North Karnataka from Maharashtra in the 19th Century and with him came the Marathi Songs and technique of presentation.[1]

Regarding the Musical forms in the Kannada Kalakshcpa one listens to the Padas of Haridasas, Sivayogi's Kaīvalya Padas Pandhari bhajana, elements of Yakshagana along with classical Hindustani and Karnatic music. In the Kannada Harikathas also one finds the,Naradiya style where the performance is divided into the Purvaranga and Uttararanga. In the Karnataka Harikatha field apart from the well known Bhagavatars, many lady performers have made significant contri-bution. Vedavati the daughter of Sanjivadas, who is said to have revived the tradition of Purandaradasa, Lakshmana of Mysore, popularly known as Mysore Lakshmasani is both a drama as well as Harikatha artiste. B. V. Rajamma of Bangalore apart from acting in dramas has earned fame through her Bharata and Ramayana Harikathas. Smt. Bhagirati of Belur became well known through her Kalakshepas on Chaitanya, Tukaram, Purandaradas, Mira etc. She is the disciple of the Bhadragiri brothers of Bangalore.

Smt. Kausalya devi of Bangalore is the daughter of Harikatha vidwan, Telugu, Kannada Kavi B. Bhimaraju. She is well known in Karnataka and Rayalaseema. Kirtana Chandrika and Kirtana Tara are her titles. From her 12th year she performed Kathas. The following are the themes performed by her Kabir balya, Kiratarjunayuddha, Garudagarvapahara, Basavesvara, Bhakta Kuchela, Lava Kusa and Sita Kalyana.

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3. Kathakirtan, a study in evolution and theme Dr. R. Satyanaryana Journal of the Madras University — page 28. 1983.

1. ibid.

Ananthalakshmi, Kanakalakshmi Gitadevi and Pandari Bai are some of the upcoming young Kathaperformers in Karnataka.

Andhara Pradesh:

Ajjada Adibhatla Narayanadas (1864-1945) is reverentially considered as the father of the Telugu Harikathā tradition. He was a versatile writer of Kathās, a dancer, and the architect of the modern Telugu katha style. Nārayanadāsa's service to Telugu Harikathā is similar to the pioneering work done by Krishna Bhagavathar of Tanjavur. Both were veterans in the field of Kathā and are held as the great pioneers who perfected the art.

It is considered that there are many similarities between the Telugu Harikathās and the Yakshagānas. The Telugu Harikathās have borrowed largely from the aspects of music and dance of the Yakshaganas. The musical forms such as Sīsapadya, Kandapadya, Śārdula, Churnikā, Dvipada, and Padyams are common to both these forms. The main difference is that in Yakshagana interpretation and exposition is done for these forms whereas in Harikatha it becomes an important aspect to render the forms and interpret the meaning with suitable allusions.

Compared to the other Southern States, it appears that Andhra Pradesh has about 500 artistes, 200 writers and about a thousand published and unpublished works on Harikathā according to Dr. T. Donappa in his work Telugu Harikathā Sarwaswam. When compared to Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh has the maximum amount of both women performers as well as writers who have rendered yeoman service to the cause of Kālakshepa.

The following are some of the well known artistes. Ghantasala Ankamma now living in Tenali was born in the year 1945. She performs on the following themes viz., Śivalīlā. Sītā Kalyāna, Krishnarāyabharan, Uttaragograhanam, Dhraupati Vastrāpaharanam etc. Viragandan Venkata Subba Rao is her Guru. Rayapa reddi Acchamba born in 1951 hails from Kakinada. She learnt the art from Chittyala Parathasarathi Bhagavatar. Sati Sāvitrī and Sītā Kalyānam are the themes she performs. Siddhabatturi Anjanidevi of Tenali born in the year 1938

performs Gandhi jīvitan, Pramiltārjunīyam, Padmavyuham, Sashirekha, Sītā Kalyāṇam, Subhaschandra Bose and the entire Mahābharatam. She learnt Harikathā from Tellākula Venkatesvara Gupta and music from Uppalapāti Lakshminarayana. Penumarti Annapūrṅa who hails from SriKakulam district is an A. I. R. artist. Pārvati kalyāṇam, Sundarakāṇḍam and Subhadrā Pariṇayam are the themes performed by her. Incidentally both her Harikathā teachers are well known lady performers such as Raghunātha bhatla Savitri Devi and Durvasala Manikkam. Grandhi Annapūrṇā Devi of West Godavari District is both a dancer and a Kathākār. She performs the Parvati Parinaya and Sītā Kalyāṇa. Endamuri Ammani Bhagavatarini born in 1933 is from Vijayanagaram and she learnt the art of Kathā from Appili Venkatanarasimhamurthy. Janaki Sabadam, Bhakta Sabari, Sītā Kalyāṇam, Hanumatsatyāgraham are the Kathās performed by her. C. H. Arunakumāri of Tenali learnt Kathā from Tenali Venkateswara Gupta. She was honoured with the title Gānakokila, MaiRavana, and Sivalīlā are the themes performed by her. Tirunagari Arunakumari of Tenali is an A. I. R. Kathā Artist and was awarded the two titles Madhura Gāyinī and the flower of the Andhra Stage. Naradhana Sala and Śivalīlā are the kathās performed by her. Padala Ahalya born in 1934 from Vijayanagaram learnt the art of Kathā from the illustrious performers Orighanti Sitaramanjaneyalu and Adibhatla Naryandas. From her 7th year upto her 15th year she performed Kathās and later took to the study of medicine. Jānakī Sabadam, Sati Sakkubai and Sītā kalyāṇam are the themes in which she performed.

Another well know kathā performer Kolaina Indrabālā of Visakhapatnam District has many titles like Gānakokila, Balasaraswati, Nāṭyamayuri and Mayurakanta to her credit. She is a well versed Bharatanātyam dancer and has also given many dance concerts. She is also an A.I.R. artiste. Her father Indraganti Satyanarayan taught her the art of Katha and is himself a veteran Kālakshepa artist. Krishna jananam, Krishna Rayabharam, Draupadīmana Samrakshanam, Nardhanasala and Pārvati kalyāṇam are the kathas performed by her. Born in 1940 Mantripragada Lalitakumari of Paschima Godavari District is yet another well known kathā performer who is also an A.I.R. artiste. Kathagana kala Saraswati and Ganakokila are her titles. Padukapaṭṭābhishekam, Rukmiṇi kalyanam, Sri Sita Kalyanam and Sundarakāṇḍam are the themes performed by her.

There are many more eminent women performers who are professional Kathā performers in Andhra pradesh. There are a few successful women writers of kathā who have made significant contribution by adding to the Telugu Harikathā Literature. Most of the women writers belonged to the period of Adibhatla Narayanadas. It is said that the number of women performers has increased in the postNarayanadas period. Following are some of the names of a few more lady Bhāgavatars and their writings.

Mushti Rajalakshmamma — Uttara Rāmāyaṇa.

Enugula Chudamma — Rukmiṇī kalyāṇa.

Lakshmi Narasimha Yogini — Dakshiṇāmūrti

Lakshmi Narasamba — Sushīlā

Kotte Dhanalakshmamma — Kuchelopākhyāna
Rukmiṇī kalyāṇa.

Except the works of Kotte Dhanalakshmamma the rest are available in print.

These eminent women performers and writers of Kathākālakshepa throughout the length and breadth of the country have enriched the rich legacy of the cultural heritage of India.

Dr. M. Premeela the author of this article is a lecturer in the Department of Music, University of Madras. Her doctoral thesis was on Kathakalakshepa.

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a Sympsium on 'Folk-Songs and Folk Tales and Culture of Common Man' at 3 P.M. on Wednesday, the 30th October 1985 in the Madras University Annexe building, Madras-600 005. Prof. P. Thiru-gnanasambandhan, Director of the Institute presided. The following presented papers on the subject relating to the region noted against them.

Dr. E. Sundaramoorthy, M.A., Ph.D. (Tamil)

Dr. G. V. S. R. Krishnamurthy, M.A., Ph.D. (Telugu)

Thiru N. Ramakrishnan Nair, M.A. (Malayaḷam)

The Director in his introductory speech made the following points. India is predominently a land of villages and as such the folk songs and tales may be taken as truly representing Indian culture. They are unsophisticated expressions of the joys and sorrows, hopes and aspirations, of the common man unlike the literature of the court and the elite which present pictures not always quite true to Nature. These tales and songs in ancient days spread from region to region despite paucity of communication. He pointed out for example how the story of Nayanmars of Tamil Nad was current in the Kannada and Telugu regions with only minor variations of a local nature. Thus Thirunalaip-pōvar was known as Thirumallaprova and Thirunilakantar, the potter as potter Gundayya. The story of a Royal prince who strayed into a jungle and brought up by hunters lived the life of a hunter until he was rescued by his father king after several years and restored to his royal duties, was used by philosophers to illustrate how the soul caught in the clutches of the five senses is at last rescued by God in the form of preceptor by making him aware of his real potentialities. This story is told by Adi Sankara (8 cent. A.D.) of Kalady in Kerala, Ramanuja of Sriperumbudur (11 cent.) and Arul Nandi Sivacharya of Tamil Nad (13 cent.). He further pointed out how a study of these songs and tales of a religious and secular kind touching on varied aspects such as love

and heroism, devotion and duty are to be found in ballads such as Alli Arasani and Sthalapuranams such as Hālasya Mahatmya and in songs such as Ammānai and Porchunnam of Manikkavachakar. Above all a study of the Folk songs and Folk tales in various regions is sure to promote National integration.

FOLK SONGS AND FOLK TALES AND CULTURE OF COMMON MAN

Dr. E. SUNDARAMOORTHY

Tamil is one of the most ancient and classical languages of the world with rich literary and cultural heritage. It has a vast treasure of folk literature through the ages. The folk literature in any language occupies an important place as it reveals the social and cultural back ground of the common folk who really represent a society in all its dimensions. The importance of such folk literature has been realised in the present century than ever and hence the recent spurt in the systematic study of Tamil folk lore.

This paper attempts to precisely deal with the Tamil folk songs and the culture of common man as revealed in them.

Folk Songs

Folk songs can be classified into different categories according to the content, singer, purpose etc. Tamil folk songs are being sung in every phase of human life cycle from womb to tomb.

Lullaby

Lullaby is sung, lulling a child to sleep, by its mother or other women. In such lullaby songs, usually rthyms like tateto and ārarō, āriravō are repeated frequently. These songs not only provide harmony to the hearers but also an outlet for the emotions of the singers. Besides they reveal the wealth of imagination, the inspiration of nature and intention of the singers. For example let us consider the following song:

அத்தை அடிச்சாரோ அரளிப் பூச் செண்டாலே
மாமன் அடிச்சாரோ மல்லிகைப் பூச் செண்டாலே
பாட்டி அடிச்சாரோ பால் வார்க்கும் சங்காலே[1]

மெ. சுந்தரம், நாட்டுப்புறப் பாடல்கள் பா. 1

Here the mother tries to make her baby to sleep, but its cry is ceaseless. Hence she asks the baby "why are you crying? Did your aunt beat you with a bouquet of oleander flowers or the uncle with that of Jasmine? or the grand mother with the conch which is meant for feeding with milk?" From this lullaby song we can see the mother's attachment and affection for her baby. Further she sings:

கண்ணே உறங்கு காணமயிலுறங்கு
பொன்னே உறங்கு பூமரத்து வண்டுறங்கு

The baby is not still asleep. The mother feels that it is due to the lack of adequate breeze.

So she further sings like this

வடக்கே மழை பொழிய மீளா வைகைக்கே தண்ணி வர
வைகைக் கரைதனிலே வைப்பாமோ வாழைபிள்ளை
வாழை குலை நெருங்கி மல்லிகைப் பூதான் மலர்ந்து
வாழை வந்து வீசாதா வாழுமகன் கண்ணயர.

In this song the mother sings about the nice breeze which wafts from the banana trees and jasmine plant on the bank of Vaikai river. Her imagination is very high and it shows the attachment and affection for the child.

மானத்து மீனுகளாம்—என் கண்ணே
மேகத்து மின்னலிலே
என் தவத்தைத் தீர்க்க வந்த—என் கண்ணே

Though the lullaby is meant for making the child to sleep, it is also pregnant with emotions and carries a personal touch of the singer.

In another song a mother exibits her longing for a male child in a subtle manner. She says that the son is weeping for want of its younger brother. She already has a son; yet she longs for another son. She doesn't intend to have a daughter for her and a sister to his son. This is the general trend of a patrilineal society like that of Tamils.

என் னரியான் புன்னை மரம்
இலை யுதிரப் பிஞ்சு விடும்
புன்னைப் பூக் கொய்ய வந்த
புலந்திரனை யாரடித் தார்

மகிழம் பூக் கொய்ய வந்த
　　மகனாரை யாரடித் தார்
ஆரும் அடிக்கவில்லை
　　ஐ விரலும் தீண்டவில்லை
தானா அழுகின்றான்
　　தம்பி துணை வேணுமென்று
அவனா அழுகின்றான்
　　ஆத்தா மடி தேடி[2]

In this connection the following observation of Prof. N. Vanammalai deserves special mention.

The role of woman as mother is highly respectable. As a mother she wins respect and regard from her husband, her in-laws and neighbours. The society being patrilineal the birth of a son, heir to the property is welcomed with joy. The baby son is panegyrised in a thousand lullabies. His future glory is foretold. If it be a baby girl, the lullaby *muse turns dumb.* *In the* case of baby girls arriving in working class families, she is loaded with advice in lullabies. Even the boys are not foretold a glorious future because the mother knows that their lot in life is hard.

We shall make a study in a contract of the thoughts, feelings, hopes and expectations of a mother of a poor peasant family in the lullabies they sing to their baby sons. That will reveal how even maternal emotion and exuburance of spirit is conditioned by the material *life of the two* mothers.

The lullaby song by a rich mother:

"Are you the grand son of the wealthy lord whose lands are fertilised with mango fruit and watered with honey?"

Are you the son of lucky lord who rides out a silver chariot drawn by cloud like bullocks?

Are you the *son of generous lord who distributes* paddy in *charity?*

Are you the heir to the kingdom of Madurai measuring these kathas?

Are you the heir born to rule over fifty six kingdoms?

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2. மெ. சுந்தரம், நாட்டுப்புறப் பாடல்கள், ப. 104.

Are you the grand son of the king of eighteen kingdoms?
Born to expand it into fifty six?

Lullaby song by a poor mother:

My beauty with pearl white teeth and flowery smile
Why did you arrive in this empty
cottage to play?

Did you come to this poor hut
to crawl on the damp floor?

The floor is rough and uneven
and will it not hurt you if you crawl on it?

Why did you choose this cottage
When there are marble mansions with coral pillars?

While there are rich men who will bring you up in wealth
Why did you choose to be born to this poor woman,

Who eats maize half the days of the year
and goes hungry for the rest of the days!

If I wish to feed you with cow's milk
the cow does not give milk because
I could not buy cotton seed to feed it

If I wish to feed you with goat's milk
there is no leaf on the plants for they
have wilted and withered

If I wish to feed you from my breast
I cannot do it because I get nothing to
eat and I have become as lean and lanky as a monkey

I work in the fields and leave you
on the field bunds

Will you cry before I finish my work
and come to the field bund?

I work as a helper to a mason
and he scolds me very often

If the mason scolds me
will not your little face wince in pain.[3]

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3. N. Vanamamalai, Studied in Tamil Folk Literature pp. 139-142.

The thoughts and feelings expressed in these two songs by two mothers express the difference between the two worlds of material conditions of existence that determine their desires and fancies. The love of a poor mother is circumscribed by her poverty. She only resents her inability to feed and bring up the child as she would like.

Love Songs:

Love is a favourite theme in folk songs as in anyother poem. Pre marital love, Marital love, elopement, failure of love, unreciprocated love, quarrels, separation and divorce are the important situations for singing songs which are packed with emotions.

The working class people of men and women go to work in the fields, forests and building sites where they can meet one another and fall in love. Here is a conversation between the two lovers:

> கானக் கரிசலிலே களையெடுக்கும் பொன்மயிலே
> நீலக்கருங்குயிலே நிற்கட்டுமா? போகட்டுமா?
> ஆலமரம் உறங்க — அடிமரத்துப் பால் உறங்க
> உன் மடியல் நானுறங்க — உலகம் பொறுக்கையிலே
> சாலை நடந்து வாடி — சந்தப்பேட்டை தாண்டிவாடி
> ஓடை கடந்து வாடி — ஓடிப் போவோம் ரங் கூனுக்கு
> உன்மனசும் என்மனசும் ஒருமனசா ஆகிவிட்டால்
> சிக்கந்தர் மாமலையைச் — செங்குத்தாய் தூக்கிடலாம்
> சதுரகிரி மாமலையைத் — தட்டாங்கல் ஆடிடலாம்

Through these songs the hero expresses his love for the lady and seeks reciprocation.

She lost her concentration in work due to her intense love for her lover.

> காரை விட்டுத் திண்ணையிலே கறிக்கும் மஞ்சள் அரைக்
> கையிலே
> என்ன பொடி போட்டானோ இழுத்து அரைக்க முடியலையே

She laments that she is not able to grind even curry because of her intense love for him.

The lover consoles her by saying that he would meet her at an appropriate place. He also expresses his equal reciprocation of love for her.

தங்கக் கிளியே — என்
தாய்மாமன் பெற்ற பெண்ணே
மையிட்ட பொற்கரமே — உன்னை
மறந்திருக்கக் கூடுதில்லை
தூதும் அனுப்பட்டோ
சொல்கிளியே சம்மதத்தை

Laments

Normally women lament when they lose their children, relatives and their wealth. These songs are called 'Oppari'. These songs reflect their affections towards the relatives.

The condition of the widow is very miserable in Tamil society. She will not be permitted to attend the cremonies like marriages and religious festivals. Her presence in any function is considered as inauspicious.

அரைச்ச மஞ்சள் கொண்டுதான்
ஆற்றுக்குப் போனாலும்
அரும்பாவி வாராளென்று — எனக்கு
ஆறும் கலங்கிடுமே
குளிக்கமஞ்சள் கொண்டு நான்
குளத்துக்கே போனாலும்
கொடும்பாவி வாராளென்று — எனக்குக்
குளமுங் கலங்கிடுமே[4]

She says that even the tank and river would not like her to take bath in them because of her poor status in the society.

The death of a husband immediately after a woman's marriage is very crucial. She laments in the following song: 'Even before the garlands are emaciated my husband has gone! In spite of my humble requests to the God Yama who has come to end my husband's life he made my husband dead.

சில்லென்று பூத்த சிறுநெருஞ்சிக் காட்டுடே
நில்லென்று சொல்லி நிறுத்தி வழி போனீரே
கட்டிய சேலை இன்னும் கசங்கி மடியவில்லே
வச்சப்பூ இன்னும் வாசங் குறையவில்லே
மஞ்சள் குறையவில்லே மடிப்பு குலையவில்லே
பிஞ்சு வயசென்றேன் பேராசைக்காரியென்றேன்
பெருமாள் பறிகொடுத்துப் பிரிந்திருக்க மாட்டேனென்றேன்

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4. அ. ஆறுமுகம், நாட்டுப்புற இலக்கியமும் பண்பாடும் ப. 63.

பிரித்திருக்க மாட்டேனென்றேன்
பிடிக்க வந்தான் கேட்கலையே.

Generally women enjoy all the previlages when their mothers are alive. After the death of a mother her daughter feels that she is a stranger to the family where she was born. After the mother's death her sisters-in-law become powerful. Daughters feel that they are deprived of their right in the absence of their mother. Here is a folk song in which the daughter expresses her forlorn feeling.

When I travel by a golden car and arrive at
 my mother's house
I find I cannot stay there under the
 shade of that roof
I have no right in my mother's house.
When I travel in a golden car
 and arrive at my husband's house
I find I am looked upon as a stranger
 belonging to a lower caste[6]

From this song we can see that both in the mother's house and in the husband's house the daughter is not treated well after the death of her mother.

Occupational songs

The labourers of different vocations sing songs while they are at work. These songs reduce the burden of their work and keep them fit to do their work enthusiastically. These songs reveal the social and cultural background of the singers and also their aspirations.

Agricultural songs

People engaged in agricultural occupation sing songs at all stages viz., when they are ploughing the lands, sowing, planting, harvesting etc.

The farmer describes in a song that for his oxen apidge would be a pillow and the canal would be a soft bed.

6. N. Vannamamalai, Studies in Folk Literature, p. 145.

ஓரம் போ......சால் பார்
ஏ ஏ ஏ...... ஓ ஓ கோ
சால் பார்த்த கன்னனடா...செல்வன்
தாய் வார்த்தை கேளாண்டா
பாரக் கலப்பையடா செல்வனுக்குப்
பார மெத்தத் தோணுதடா
வரப்போ தலைகாணி — செல்வனுக்கு
வாய்க்காலோ — பஞ்சுமெத்தை[7]

By singing this song the farmer not only drives away his weariness but also it appears that of his companions the oxen. An aspect of life of the agricultural flock has also been expressed in this song.

In another song the land owner pleads with the women, who have come for transplanting the seedlings to plant them without much interpace.

நாலு மூலெ வயலுக் குள்ளே
நாத்து நடும் குவளப் பெண்ணே
நானும் கொஞ்சம் ஏழையடி
நடவகொஞ்சம் சேத்துப் போடு
நண்டுச்சாறு காய்ச்சி விட்டு
நடு வரப்புலே போற பெண்ணே — உன்
கொண்ட காறு அழகு கண்டு
கொஞ்சறனாம் அஞ்சு மாசம்
நானும் கொஞ்சம் ஏழையடி
நடவ கொஞ்சம் சேத்துப் போடு
பெண்டுகளே பெண்டுகளே
தண்டை போட்ட பெண்டுகளே — உன்
கொண்ட கொஞ்சம் அழகெ கண்டு
கொஞ்சறனாம் ஆறு மாசம்
நானுங் கொஞ்சம் ஏழையடி
நடவ கொஞ்சம் சேத்துப் போடு

The importance of ploughing is known to all. The proverb 'Elulavu ulutal eruppota ventam' indicates its importance. Hence the farmers engaged themselves in ploughing the land. Women were engaged in weeding, manuring, spacing and harvesting. Women played a role equal to that of men in agriculture. In fact there are some jobs in agriculture like transplantation, weed-

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7. ஆறு. அழகப்பன், நாட்டுப்புறப்பாடல்கள் — திறனாய்வு, ப. 61, 62.

ding, harvesting, winnowing and collecting the grains which are done only by women.

The following is a folk song of harvest in which the sickle used for the harvest is described.

உன்னரிவாள் என்னரிவாள் ஏலோலோ அன்னக்கிளி
உருக்கி வச்ச கருக்கரிவாள் ஏலோலோ அன்னக்கிளி
வெள்ளிப் பிடியரிவாள் ஏலோலோ அன்னக்கிளி
வெடலைப் பிள்ளை கையரிவாள் ஏலோலோ அன்னக்கிளி

Folk Tales.

The folk tales are usually oral narrations presented by the old ladies out of their experience and imagination to the children. These tales are usually narrated while feeding the children, and put them to sleep. Aspiration to perform heroic deeds, to destroy evil and to lead a virtuous life are thus inculcated in children.

Tamil folk tales can be classified into different eategories on different basis. (1) Magic (2) Humourous (3) Fables (4) Fairy tales.

Magic Tales.

These tales are full of suspense and valour. The children develop a sense of adventure and wish to triumph over evil on listening to these tales in that impressionable age.

Humorouus Tales.

These tales are meant for creating joyous moods in the children. But at the same time, they strees moral values of life also. Tenali Raman Katai, Mariyatai Raman Katai, etc. belong to this type of tales. Some humourous tales are adaptations from other languages.

Fables.

These tales are also employed to mould the character of the children. Animals are also used as characters of these folk tales. These tales stress on didactic aspects; ethical value of life is brought out in these tales. These tales help the children to develop determination in adhering to virtuous path in life. Panchatantra tales are of this type.

Fairy Tales.

These tales are rich with super natural elements and fancy. They symbolically teach the children among others that the Almighty will help those who do good and punish those who commit sinful deeds.

Almost all the folk tales stress on moral values and help in shaping the character and culture of the society.

Folk Ballads.

Folk ballads in Tamil are an important genre of folk literature. There are a number of folk ballads in Tamil which can be classified into Romantic ballads, Historical ballads, Puranic ballads, and sociological ballads.

Romantic Ballads.

Romantic ballads are stories of love, heroism, victory in war, etc. The theme of love is based on a primitive sentiment and has been popular in all societies and in all literatures at all times. The generality of the working class people liked love and happiness to prevail in the home and liked to listen to the stories of heroes.

Alli Arasani mālai, Pavalakkodi mālai, Pulantiran Kalavu malai etc., are some of the most popular romantic ballads, These ballads have two important characters. Krishna and Arjuna and a common theme — love making which deal with the love stories of Arjuna. Arjuna is a common house hold word even to-day at all levels of society. The heroism of Arjuna is one which is always endearing to the people, and Krishna is a character who is lovable as the friend of Arjuna in all his escapades and worthy of worship as God at the same time.[8]

From the ballads we can glean folk customs and beliefs of the people. They are also useful for anthropological studies. Alli Arasanimalai, being the earliest ballad in Tamil is replete with references to the customs and beliefs of the day, which we do not find in any other ballad and some of which we do not know from

8. M. Arunachalam, Ballad Poetry, p. 94.

any other source. For example, the following may be mentioned. When the ceremony of adoption is gone through by a childless parent to take another's child as his son, he drinks a cup of turmeric water as a preliminary ritual. The Sīmantha Kalyanam is a purificatory ceremony done for a pregnant young women in the 6th or the 8th month of pregnancy; the ballad says that the woman is made to stand on the large mortar and there the ritual is performed. The family willl come to ruin if the lady of the house spreads out her upper garment (muntānai) on the ground and lies on it. A protective religious mark is made on the central forehead of children and young women by pinching a little ofthe earth and applying it...[9]

Aravān Ammanai is a ballad, which is still sung orally in Vellalore, Kurichi, Singannallur...in Coimbatore District in the Aravan Festival. The festival is usually celebrated in the first week of Markali (Tamil month). It is also known as Kuttantai Nonpu in that area. The festival goes on for eighteen days. The figure of Aravān is tied upto a kind of cross made up of fiig wood. On the last day of the festival i.e. on Friday the figure of Aravān is taken in procession for worship by the village people.

Aravān was the son of Arjuna through Ulupi, a princess of the serpent world. He was a great warrior and he was cleverly induced by Duryodhana who was against the Pandavas in the war to offer himself as a human sacrifice to Kali the goddess of battle and victory. But Lord Krishna made a trick and the sacrifice was made a day earlier on behalf of the Pandavas. The festival is celebrated in honour of Aravān's sacrifice. After the festival the village people collected bits of fig wood i.e. from Aravan's fiigure and Kumkum on the effigy of Aravan as a talisman to ward off evil and disease from their children. During the festival period the Aravān ammanai is recited along with Villibharatham by scholars who are the hereditary trustees of the temple.

Historical ballads help us to know about the patriotism of the heroes of the days. Ramappaiyan ammanai, Kattabomman Kathai patal, Maruthu Pandiyar Kathai, Desingu Rajan Kathai are some of the historical ballads.

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9. M. Arunachalam, Ballad Poetry, p. 99.

These ballads give us important information, names of places, marches, leaders who participated in the wars etc. The Kattabomman Kathai patal gives us a full account of seventy two palayapattus which fought under him. The sacrifice and the heroic activities of Kattabommu brothers are clearly revealed in these ballads. The court of Kattabommu and his political activities, worship of Goddess Chakkamma etc. are described in detail.

Conclusion.

Folk literature is a treasure house consisting of the common folk's beliefs and customs. This oral traditional literature has been taking shapes in the form of stories, sayings, proverbs songs, riddles etc. These folk literatures helped the people in many ways, teaching them what to avoid, how to lead a better life etc. They are both entertaining and instructive.

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FOLK SONGS AND FOLK TALES AND CULTURE OF COMMAN MAN

N. RAMAKRISHNAN NAIR

The history of poetry and story telling starts from the end of the golden age of folk songs and folk tales. In the annals of anthropology it is stated that man lived in forests like wild animals without any social sentiments. At that very old age there would not have been any recorded language. Even man might not have ascertained the do's and don'ts of blood-relationship. But he might have produced certain sounds according to his emotions, and some times these emotions sprouted out in musical exclamations! Imagine a scene, 'that a group of wildmen after a hunt dancing around the fire in which the leader hunter is cooking the dead-animal piercing in a spear! In that happy mood they are uttering their expressions of joy and that turn into a chorus. Folk songs are born in such situations of joy and love. Agriculture, festival, marriage, Prayer and travel are situations of making joy and love. These kinds of songs have not meaningful sounds in the beginning stage. It is not the linguistic value that counts; but the emotional value. Emotions are reactions of lively situations and that exclamatory forms of emotions sometimes form in musical rhythms. It is the source of folk songs. In course of time meaningful sounds replaced the exclamatory emotional utterances. It is the beginning of literature in folk songs. It is a common phenomena in all languages. In Malayalam you can find an example. It is related to agriculture. When replanting the paddy the labourers sing,

"Sooriyen udichukanote
Tharikantharam
Neram Polarnu Kanote
Tharikantharam
Oru pidi njareduthe
Tharikantharam

Adithyan Kathiru Koythe
Tharikantharam
(We have seen the sun rising
The day dawned!

And getting a cluster of Paddy plants
Is the sun perform a crop?)

'Tharikantharam' is repeated as an exclamation of joy and that particular word is the link between lines.

It is to be noted that this song was sung in the olden days as in the same tune with the only word 'Tharinkantaram. It was sung as Tharikantharam repeated in the same tune, when days passed some unknown poet might have filled the tune with meaningful words (C.P. Govinda Pillai pointed out this example).

What is the purpose?

Folk songs are useful for lessening the tension in labour and to relax themselves during work. These songs promote happiness and inspire the taste of beauty. Some songs are mechanically used to start and stop a particular effort which was to be finised by a number of people. To move a huge timber or rock, the laboures produce a sound-rather a song to start effort. For example 'Iyyanthom' and this "Iyyanthom" some times changes into "musical Iyyanthom" as "Iyyam ... thom ... Iyaanthom" added with some meaningful words related to the particular labour.

Iyyanthom... Iyanthom
Ane viliyede
Alepidiyede
Kochittimanikyo
(Hey kochitti and Manikyo.

Please summon an elephant or some more people to help)

A releaxed mind can give courage for body. The sense of art will give relaxation to mind. Music is an art which can be enjoyed without the mediation of language. So any common-labourer — though he is illiterate can enjoy these songs. Knowingly or unknowingly the sense of music becomes an unavoidable ingrediant of the culture of common man.

Folk tales :

Panchathantra is the main source of Folk tales. Mainly beasts and birds are the characters in these stories. They unite, depart, taking revenge, saving themselves by virtue of wisdom and in the end the straight will succeed. It is the common frame of a folk tale. They are simple stories with a message. The colour, sound and even movement of a beast or bird is some times related to a tale. A story says that the cuckoo Latches its egg in the Crow's nest. The sound of a bird... (Ittichira Kullajee Payarotho-otho) is related to a pathetic story of a bird. The story of the race of rabbit and tortoise, the fox's comment that higher grapes are sour are eminent examples of human characters depicted in the story. The Ramayana and Mahabharatha contributed a lot af Folk Stories. In those stories also beasts and birds play main roles. The story of a squirrel who took part in Sethubandana in Ramayana is very famous and it is told that the three lines on the back of the squirrel is formed owing to the soft touch of Rama in admiration. The Mother birds advice to young ones when the Kandhava forest was about to set fire is an example from Bharatha. The cunningness of fox or monkey is the major element in social folk stories. It is said that a tricolour creeping insect — which is usually seen in our rural areas is going to Ampadi carrying milk and butter to Lord Krishna. A black, hair like organ of a plant is said to be the hair of Sita who sat under the Ashoka tree in Lanka. Almost all beasts and birds are sealed as the vehicle of a God and they are thus saved from the cruelty of the God-fearing hunters. Even the perpetual disturber — rat is also included in this list as the vehicle of Pillayar — (Ganapathy). Imagine the generosity of the people who lanuched and propagated these stories! The message of all folk tales tell the essence of human values. The very famous story of a 'cluster of mud and a dry leaf' and their pilgrimage to Kasi and their tragic end is a powerful theme of friendship. In some folk tales Devas, rakshasas Yakshis, appear at some critical moments but they are less in number.

Major Divisions

Folk songs and folk tales could be broadly divided as follows.

(1) *Labour* Agriculture, hunting and travel are the chief labours in olden days. We have got folk songs and tales in con-

nection with them. In Kerala boat-travel was common. Thus a separate division of songs namely Vanchippattu (Boat songs) is formed. The tune of song coincide with the rhythm of waves

"Vanchi chakke tho ttilethee
Thaka...thai — thaka thai thom...
Velli vannu pongiyallo —
thaka thai thaka...thaka thai thom"

(The boat reached in Chackai canal — near Trivandrum—. The morning star is glittering. Among the cluster of palm leaves the wind calls...)

The refined and recorded poetic form of Vanchipattu is 'Kuchelavritham by Ramapaurathu Varrier.

Veera rasa usually emerges from hunting sons

"Nokke Anno Illa varumathu
Kanan Chantharum undallanno
Thalayi...ppattum valum unde...
Kayyil choolarum undallanno —
Odarutharum ... *Koottararum*
Kadakam othiram vettamatto
Thonnan vetti uruttina poce
Thalakalu vetti uruttina kando ...

(See brother! a huge beast is coming forward: It is fine.' See a red cloth on the head! What is in the hand? Is it a soola? Don't run! We can use the fight methods of Kadakam and othiram... see! Now the head of the beast is rolling in the mud like a tender coconut)

2. *Festival songs and tales:* Onam in Sravana or Avani is the famous festival of Kerala and a lot of Onappattu are heard about the details of that festival. They are Poovilipattu, Oonjapattu, Athappoopattu, and thumpi thullal. The tale of Mahabali who is visiting Kerala in commemoration of his rule is the pivot around which these songs are recited. Temple festivals like Kodungaloor Pooram, Trivandrum Arattu, and Alwaye-sivarathri are also praised in folk songs.

(3) *Social Ceremonies*: Marriage is the main social ceremony. A lot of folk songs are identified as marriage songs. Greeting the bridegroom, Making up the bride, and the 'Thalikattu are the three important situations of marriage songs. Different religions have different kinds of marriage songs. In the Christian Community greeting the bridegroom is termed as "Vathil thusa pattu." Among Muslims there is a kind of marriage song during ornating the bride — called 'Opana'. After ornating the bride her female friends dance and recite in chorus describing the beauty of the bride and the charm of the bridegroom...is the content of Opana. Yatrakali pattu is an item of marriage cremony among Namboothiris.—

Harvest season is the time of rural dramas and some folk songs are classified as songs in connection with harvest dramas 'Sabhavandanam' Kuravan Kurathi Vidooshakan and Nayakavesham are the main characters who sung these folk songs in rural drama stage 'Thepyyam and thira' are another ritual arts presenting colourful characters with sweet songs.

(4) *Hailling the seasons*: is another division of folk songs. Rain is necessary for cultivation and water is considered as a deity-varuna. Rural deities like Kali, Naga, Yakshi, Gandharra are also praised in folk songs. The fearful aspects of nature — snakes, lightning, fire und floods were considered as supernatural powers and they are praised in folk songs.

Nava annakkallee ponnu
    Nagathane
(Don't move your tongue
    Oh golden Serpant!)
Vellidi pozhiya mazha venam
    Kallu Kuzhiyana mazha venam

(We need rain without thunder and lightning. We need such a rain that can pierce even rock)

These facts establish the fear of natural powers.

(5) War is another catastrophe in the smooth course of society.

(6) War and warriors are praised in many folk songs. To inspire warfare in soldiers a series of songs are used. Even the first poetical work in Malayalam *Ramacharitham* is considered as a war song.

'Patayani' is a drama of war and Patayampattu is famous among folk songs. Ballads like Vadakkan pattu and Thekkanpattu are dealing with the life history of warriors or ankaveeras like, Thacholi-Othenan, Aromunni and Iravikuthy pillai respectively.

(7) Nature is an ever green fascination to poets of all ages. Really the term, sense of beauty is nothing but the ability of enjoying nature. To establish this basic fact in the minds of people folk songs have contributed a lot. You can see the sense of natural beauty depicted in the following song.

"Pichi poothu koda virinje
Appoorin matham kollachy
Puthu pennale ......
Thoothe vayu...thaliche vayo
Cherupennale ......
Thampurante thirumullathu
Vayo ... vayoo ... penne ...

(Jasmine has flowered like a white umbrella. Young heroine ...get its fragrance. You clear off...and make clean the royal surroundings of the Palace)

Another song —

Akkare Nikkana Venga marathile
Onnam thulasimel adiva thumpi
Adiva thumpi ... Alanjuva thumpi
Mooliva thumpi — Muzhangi va thumpi

(You come from the Vengai tree of the other shore of the river. Come and rest over the thulasi. You come in dance and sing a melody...)

Folk songs are yet to be accorded a respectable place in our history of literature for the reason that many of them are not available in print and perhaps that they are not composed in the

language of the elite and therefore not respectable enough. These poets who sang with full-throated ease at moments inspired moved by the enchanting beauty of nature and the stunning complexity of life in its varied aspects, never took pains to put them in black and white. It was not necessary also. Those spontaneous overflow of emotions went straight into the hearts of the people who transmitted them from generation to generation by word of mouth. For this reason the blessed composers of these songs will ever remain anonymous. It is satisfying that at least now there is an awareness among our scholars about the lyrical quality of these songs which catared to and cultivated the aesthetic susceptibilities of a people who lived in harmony with nature. These songs are indeed the songs of the people, by the people and for the people and hence and that they are not in anyway tainted by the narrow consideration of caste, religion, creed etc. with which our present day society is divided. They truly reflected the society and its activities, which believes arts, customs, family ties, marriage, seasonal celebrations, worship, love and hatred and what not? These songs are indeed repositary of our culture and our pround heritage and no pains should be spared to collect them and preserve them for the benefit of posterity.

Examples of songs are taken from

(1) Collection of Natanpattukal

C.P. Govinda pillai

(2) Namude Natanpattukal

Kilimanoor Viswambharan.